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A TREATISE OF GOD's GOVERNMENT,

And of the JUSTICE

Of His present Dispensations

In this WORLD.

By the Pious, Learned, and most Eloquent

SALVIAN,

A PRIEST of *Marseille*, who liv'd in the Vth *CENTURY*.

Translated from the *Latin* by *R. T.* Presbyter of the Church of *England*.

With a *Preface* by the Reverend Mr. *Wagstaffe*.

Si pejeret Francus, quid novi faciet, qui perjurium ipsum Sermonis genus putat esse, non Criminis.
Salvian *de Gubernat.* Lib. 4.

LONDON:
Printed for *S. Keble* at the *Turk*'s Head, over against *Fetter-Lane* in *Fleet-street*. 1700.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THere are two Things that will recommend the Tranſlation of an Author to the World, and juſtifie the Uſefulneſs of a Man's Pains in makeing him more publick, and capable of being read and underſtood by many more, than poſſibly could be in his own Native Language. And thoſe are, the Seaſonableneſs of the Doctrine he treats of, and the Excellent and Uſeful manner of handling that Doctrine; And both theſe we have in this Admirable Author, who is now made to ſpeak *Engliſh*, and dedicated to the Uſe and Advantage of the Natives of our own Country. And therefore, that the Reader may reap that Benefit by it, which was deſign'd him, and peruſe the following Tranſlation with that Care, Temper, and Application of Mind, as Subjects of that weight ought to be, I ſhall, by way of Introduction,

endeavour to raiſe his Thoughts and Faculties, that they may bear ſome meaſure of Proportion to the Greatneſs of the Subject. Here he muſt not expect (what is the preſent Shame and Burden of the Preſs) to meet with any light and frothy Diſcourſes, or empty, vain, and uſeleſs Speculations; but a Fundamental Pillar of Religion, ſupported by grave, ſolid, and irrefragable Arguments; And if the Reader hath nothing to pleaſe, but a wild Fancy and roving Appetite, if nothing can gratifie him but lewd Jeſts, and unſavoury Ribaldry, he will be here mightily out of his Way; but if he knows how to reliſh clear and Convincing Reaſons; if he can be affected with the Noble Truths of Religion: In ſhort, if he bring his Judgment and Conſcience along with him, the Tranſlator will never loſe his Pains, nor the Reader his Profit. For,

I. *The Subject Matter of the following Book is always Seaſonable, fit for all Times, and all Perſons.* That God governs the World, ſuperintends all the Affairs of it; That they are not order'd and manag'd by blind Chance, fatal Nececeſſity, or the Will of Man, but by an All-wiſe and Omnipotent Governour, who ſits at the Helm, guides and directs the whole Univerſe, and all the Parts and Branches of it; In a word, that God is Judge himſelf, Judge here, as well as hereafter, and exerciſeth a Soveraign and Judicial Power in the whole Adminiſtration of this World. This, I ſay, is a Doctrine not calculated for Times and Seaſons, for an Age, or peculiar People, but is adapted

adapted to the whole World, neceſſary for all Times, Perſons, Nations and Languages. 'Tis the Foundation of all Men's Prayers. The firſt Reaſon of all that Worſhip and Homage, which hath every where been paid to the moſt High God, for no Man would, no Man reaſonably could pray to that Being, who, he thought, did not hear, or neglect, or not concern himſelf with what was done upon Earth. And our Praiſes and Celebrations would be as vain as our Petitions, if the God, whom we celebrated, did not in particular regard the Actions and Behaviour of Men. But if God hears and minds our Prayers and Praiſes; for the ſame Reaſon he hears and minds our Curſes and Blaſphemies too. If he judges of the Sincerity of our Hearts, upon the ſame Account, he judges alſo of their Hypocriſie; and our Iniquities are as open before God, as our Devotions. And the Conſequence is, That the whole World lies under the immediate Inſpection and Judgment of God. And this is the firſt Step in the Doctrine of Providence, that God inſpects and judges the whole World in General, and every individual Man in particular. But the Subject Matter of our Prayers extends yet further, which for the moſt part, concerns the Things of this Life; as petitioning for Secular Bleſſings, deprecating Miſchiefs and Inconveniences, which plainly ſuppoſe the Belief of God's Government of the World, and that the Things we reſpectively ask of Him are purely at His diſpoſal. To petition God for our Daily Bread, plainly implies, that he

as daily gives it; and to beg to be reſcu'd from Temptations, deliver'd from Evils, as plainly denotes, that the Things that may tempt, or injure us, are in God's hands, and may be permitted or reſtrain'd, as He ſees Good. And the Concluſion from theſe Premiſes is this, That this Doctrine is ſeaſonable and neceſſary for all Men that pray, that is always, at all times, and upon all Occaſions: For hereby we are taught, that all Second Cauſes are Inſtruments in God's hands to fulfil his Will, and in all manner of Diſpenſations to look beyond them, and to fix our Thoughts and Meditations on the Supreme Arbiter and Governour of the World. To be Thankful in Proſperity, Patient and Humble in Adverſity: To take what we enjoy for Mercies, what we ſuffer for Chaſtiſements and Corrections, diſpenſed to Us from our Heavenly Father. Upon this Foundation we are warranted to beg of God, Protection from Injuries, Deliverance from Afflictions, Supply for our Neceſſities, Succeſs in our honeſt Undertakings; And upon this Ground we can truſt in, and rely upon God, tho' all the World forſake us, and freely unboſom our ſelves to Him, when Men will not hear us: So that this Doctrine is the Stay and Support of the whole World, and affords Delight to the Happy, Comfort to the Miſerable, Refuge and Shelter to the Oppreſſed, Security to the Traveller, Safeguard to them that reſt, Contentment under Diſappointments, Increaſe to the Merchant and Induſtrious, and Protection to All. Fetters and Priſons, Thrones and Dominions,

Dominions, all Degrees and Qualities, are equally and alike concern'd in it. And whatsoever our Condition be in this World; whatever Posture the Things are in that are without, or within us; whatever are the States of Publick Societies, or private Men; whether we have or want any thing, whether we hope or fear, whether we rejoyce or are sorrowful; in all these Respects, and in every other Incident of Life, we are directly and immediately concern'd with the Divine Providence, and may find from thence Matter for Supplication, Arguments, for Dependance, and Reasons for Adoration and Worship. That Doctrine therefore must needs be seasonable, which is equally suited to all Cases and Circumstances; To all Ranks and Degrees; to all States and Conditions, to all Casualties and Contingencies of Life; And all the different Seasons, which *Solomon* Assigns to the different Uses and Purposes of Life, in this Respect have no manner of Difference; *There is a season to plant, and a season to pluck up* (Literally and Allusively) but both are Seasons for directing our Thoughts for Contemplation of the Divine Providence. *There is a time to kill, and a time to heal, a time to get, and a time to lose, a time of War, and a time of Peace.* But these and all other, are Times for meditating on, and applying this Doctrine, either to beg God's Blessing and Protection, or to render Him Thanks and Praise for having bestow'd it; Or to humble our selves under His Almighty Hand, or to give Him the Glory of His power and Good-

Eccles. Chap. 3.

neſs for preſerving our Perſons, Eſtates, or Innocency. In fine, how various ſoever the Affairs of the World are, how unſtable the Poſſeſſions, how Surprizing and Aſtoniſhing the Events! This Doctrine is ready at hand, to pacifie our Minds, and to preſent us with infinite and unſpeakable Advantages, if it be not our own Fault; and we deprive our ſelves of them thro' Atheiſm, Incredulity, a Neglect of God and our ſelves. Nevertheleſs, tho' this Doctrine be very proper, and neceſſary for all Times and Perſons, it muſt be confeſs'd, That it may at ſome times be yet more Seaſonable, and more fit to be inculcated, explain'd, and aſſerted; and thoſe, ſeem to me, to be theſe that follow,

1. *When this Great Doctrine of Providence is corrupted and perverted, and by unwarrantable Inferences and Deductions, is made ſubſervient to Ends and Purpoſes; I mean, to other Ends and Purpoſes, than thoſe of Religion and Virtue.* For inſtance, when we are told, that Succeſs and Events create a Divine Right to Property and Dominion, that Poſſeſſion and Providence, is a Title ſuperior to all legal Claims and Pretences; That this is the Meaning of ſome Men's *Providences*, is too Notorious to be deny'd, and therefore need not be proved; and it would take up too much of the Reader's time, and with all be unſuitable to the Nature and End of this Preface, to have it debated. All that I ſhall at preſent remark, is, That 'tis perfectly new, and as far as I know, this Doctrine was ſtarted within ſome of

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our Memories, and lay for ſome time ſcorn'd and exploded, till reviv'd of late; All Antiquity, and all Ages of the Church are perfect Strangers to it, except our own. The Fathers of old, and Holy Men in all Ages, have been copious on the Subject; but the Myſtery of providential Rights and Titles is a Myſtery of Iniquity, reſerved for our Times, and fit to be diſcover'd, when the ſame Doctrines can both be deſpiſed and laugh'd at, and alſo own'd and aſſerted by the ſame Perſons. However in ſuch a Caſe, it ſeems highly requiſite, that Men be ſet ſtraight in their Notion, that this Doctrine be plac'd in its true light; for as this, or any other Doctrine of Religion, if it be miſunderſtood, or miſapply'd, draws after it an innumerable Company of practical Miſchiefs and Inconveniences: So if it be rightly ſtated, and duely obſerv'd, it produceth in abundance the fruits of Holineſs and true Piety. And for this I ſhall refer the Reader to the Book it ſelf, where he will find this uſeful Doctrine plainly aſſerted, and convincingly prov'd without being endanger'd, or tempted to ſet up God's Providence in contradiction to His Laws.

2. *When this Doctrine is deny'd either in direct terms, or by neceſſary Conſequence*; This I take to be the moſt irrational and ſenſeleſs Opinion in the whole World, and even more abſurd than Atheiſm it ſelf; for the Denial of Providence proceeds upon the Suppoſition of the Being of a God, and to believe a God, and at the ſame time to deny his Providence, carries

with it a thouſand Contradictions; for I deſire to know, what Idea or Conception ſuch Men can have of God, what kind of Being they can frame to themſelves, or what Repreſentation they can make of Him excluſive of the Divine Providence; Let them give us His Attributes and Characters, and tell us plainly, what they mean by God, and then they muſt either renounce their Opinion, or frame ſuch a God to themſelves, as all Men will be aſham'd of; For certainly, the Notion of God implies all poſſible Perfection, and a ſluggiſh, unactive, impotent, inconſiderate, negligent God, is an imperfect God, and they aſcribe greater Imperfections to the Moſt High God, than can honeſtly be attributed to a wiſe and good Man But if the Notion of God implies the moſt perfect Being, ſuch a Being, who is infinitely Wiſe, Powerful, Juſt and Good. Theſe Attributes plainly prove the Divine Providence: For if God be infinitely Wiſe, he certainly knows all that is done in the World, the deepeſt Deſigns, the cloſeſt Contrivances. If infinitely Powerful, certainly, he is able to defeat them, to over-rule them, and to turn them to ſuch Ends as he pleaſes; If infinitely Juſt and Good, he certainly will do it, when it is fit for him ſo to do: So that the very Notion of God implies Providence, and proves it *a priori*. God's Providence is the Reſult of His Nature, and flows from it: And it is impoſſible to have any Conception of God, but at the ſame time to include Providence, and God's Soveraign Power in the World: However,

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seeing we are got into an Age, where every thing is disputed; seeing our *English* World is pester'd with a Sort of Men, who are resolved to call themselves Masters of Sense and Reason, tho' of far more Arrogance than Comprehension, it seems reasonable and just to our Countrymen, that the Antidote should be proportion'd to the Poyson; and here I must again refer the Reader to the Book: And if he comes prepar'd to receive either Truth or Reason, let him read it with Judgment and Discretion, and then let him be an Epicurean, or Anti-providentialist, if he can.

3. *When there is a general Corruption in Men's Manners.* This (in Scripture Language) is call'd living without God in the World; and it certainly is so, so far as Mortals can live without God, when God is neglected, His Laws violated, and Men live as if they had no other Concern with the Governour of the World, but to despise and affront Him. When Uncleanness, Incest, Sodomy, Perjury, Violence, Oppression, Unnaturalness reign, I would say *in every Corner*; but that supposes some degree of Shame and Modesty; some Awe of Men at least, if none of God; but when Vice grows bold and rampant, is above Reproof, and scorns it; when it hath it's Advocates and Pleaders, is turn'd into Principles and Arguments; This is the highest Aggravation of the highest Crimes. 'Tis superfluous to speak of Pride, Luxury, Fraud, Extortion, Calumny, Uncharitableness, which may pass for Virtues, in comparison of some Impieties. And

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to what purpoſe ſhould I mention Hereſie and Schiſm, for theſe ſuppoſe ſome Religion, which in ſome Ages of the World is not eaſie to be found. Now how far, and in what inſtances theſe Characters ſuit with the preſent *Engliſh* Nation, is not for me to determine; and therefore, without coming to Particulars, certain I am, that in a looſe and Vicious Age, all the Reſtraints of Religion are not too much to ſtop that Deluge of Impiety which is overwhelming the World, and wou'd to God they were all ſufficient. This ſingle Doctrine before us, hath a mighty Efficacy to this purpoſe, and if it were planted in our Hearts, and riveted by frequent and ſerious Meditation; This alone would be ſufficient to curb the Inſolence and Licenciouſneſs of Sin, to humble the proudeſt Sinner, and bring him to utter Shame and Confuſion of Face. For let Men be minded, let them believe it, let them always think of it; That God ſees, and is preſent with their Thoughts and Contrivances, as well as with their actual Commiſſion of Wickedneſs; That he will judge 'em for them, here, and hereafter; That ſo many ſteps of Villany are ſo many degrees nearer to Vengeance, That thereby we are preparing our ſelves for the Plagues of this, and the other World. And if after this, we can ſtill obſtinately purſue Iniquity; if we can defie God to his very face, and act all manner of Outrages and Abominations in His Preſence, our Iniquities ripen apace, and the meaſure of them ſeems very near filling up; and how much ſoever we may

deſpiſe

deſpiſe or neglect this Doctrine, we are in the ready way to feel it to our Coſt, and to become viſible Objects of it, and Examples to others.

4. *When Men pretend to believe the Divine Providence, and at the ſame time live in a conſtant and perpetual Contradiction to ſuch Belief*: All Sin indeed does ſo; but that which I chiefly aim at, is, when Men ſhall take ungodly and unwarrantable Methods to ſave themſelves, or to accompliſh their Ends. This is a Practice apparently inconſiſtent with the Belief of God's Providence. If any man ſteps out of God's way to preſerve himſelf; or to bring about his Deſigns, whatever he pretends, he does not in truth believe God's Providence, nor dare he truſt Him; if in a viſible proſpect of Danger, or Inconvenience to our Perſons or Intereſts, we ſhall baſely abandon our Conſciences, and break in upon the Laws of Righteouſneſs, for to get a little Security, or to prevent a threatning Storm; If we can take unſanctified Courſes to be Rich, Great, Honourable, or Safe; if we can triſle with Religion for Temporal Ends, and make Hypocriſie a Guard and Sanctuary: In fine, if we can do Evil, to prevent ſuffering it, and make bold with God to keep our ſelves eaſie, quiet, or flouriſhing in this World, inſtead of believing, we diſtruſt God's Providence, and forfeit His Protection; we abandon our beſt Security, and take our Cauſe into our own hands; we forſake providence, and are reſolved to ſhift for our ſelves. Now in ſuch Caſes as theſe,

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(and God only knows how many ſuch Caſes, there are among Us) the only way to recall Us to a ſteddy and uniform Dependance upon God, and to make us act regularly in Conformity to it, is to gain a firm and ſtedfaſt Belief of this Great Doctrine. I ſay, a firm and ſtedfaſt Belief of it in our Hearts; For while 'tis only a Notion in our Heads, 'tis like a Problem, or School Queſtion, and ſerves for Talk and Diſpute, but not to live by; But 'tis then only Serviceable to the Ends of Religion, when it becomes a Principle of Life governs the whole Man, directs our Practices, and whatſoever we do, is one way or other guided and determin'd by it. And the moſt proper way (next to the Grace of God, and frequent Prayer to Him) for the obtaining this, is to apply our ſelves honeſtly and carefully to the reading ſuch Diſcourſes, as may rationally convince Us of the Truth of it. For tho' I conceive that no man, who will give himſelf Liberty to be ſerious, and to conſider, and whoſe Underſtanding is not clouded with vile Luſts and Affections, can poſſibly doubt of it; yet ſeeing we are too apt to forget and neglect, even what we know; ſeeing we want a Monitor and Remembrancer in the plaineſt things in the World. One would think no man need to be told, that he ſhall die; that he carries his Breath in his Noſtrils, and is making haſte to the Duſt; and yet notwithſtanding the ſenſible Decays which we feel in our ſelves; notwithſtanding the innumerable Experiments we daily ſee before our Eyes, how few are there who believe it;

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ſo believe it, as to make it a Principle of Practice, and behave themſelves as becomes mortal and periſhing Beings. The Doctrine of Providence is as evident as our Mortality, and yet the manifold Inſincerity of our Practices; the Fraud and Hypocriſie of our Dealings, the ſhameleſs Shifts and Artifices we hide our ſelves under, the impious and carnal Intriegues and Politicks that are ſo viſible among Men, are but too ſad and deplorable Inſtances, how much we need to be reminded and convinc'd, That God governs the World; for which Uſe and Purpoſe, the following Book is a moſt fit and proper Inſtrument, and Admirably ſuited for Conviction and perſwaſion; to ſatisfie the honeſt Enquirer, to ſtop the Mouths of Gainſayers, to confound the Obſtinate and Incorrigible, and to quicken and awaken the Sloathful, negligent, and inconſiderate, which brings me to the ſecond thing, *viz.*

II. Our Author's Excellent and Uſeful manner of handling this Subject. This I confeſs, is a Copious Argument, and abundance may be ſaid of it: But I muſt confeſs with all, that it is a Subject fit for far abler Hands than mine, and it requires a Strength and Capacity equal to our Author, to give it its juſt Character. I am very ſenſible, that the beſt I can ſay, will diminiſh the Value, and baulk the Reader's Expectation, rather than advance it. And therefore it will be more juſt both to the Author and the Reader, as well as more modeſt in it ſelf, to let this Great point alone. Let the

Reader

Reader peruſe it, and then let him judge for himſelf; And, if he will but read it with Temper and Application, with an honeſt Heart, and a due preparation, without partiality and prejudice, I am well aſſured, he will bleſs God, and own his good Providence, that ever it came into his Hands.

Tho. Wagſtaffe.

Salvian

SALVIAN's

PREFACE

To the Holy Biſhop,

SALONIUS.

SALVIAN *to the holy Biſhop* Salonius, *wiſheth health in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. All thoſe Men, who have thought, that the exerciſing their Wits in Writing ſome Learned Work, might tend to the Improvement of Humane Life, have taken the greateſt Care, whether their Subject were uſeful and innocent, or unprofitable and wicked, to Adorn the Matter treated of with Choice of Expreſſions, and to add Luſtre to the Cauſe, they handled by the Beauty of their Stile. And therefore, in both ſorts of Learning, moſt of thoſe Writers, who have treated of worldly Affairs, have apply'd themſelves Chiefly to that Part, not much regarding the Truth or Worth of the Subject, if ſo be they expreſs'd themſelves upon it, either in ſmooth and taking Verſe, or in clean and perſpicuous Proſe. For generally in their Writings, they plead their own Cauſes, and being more ſolicitous of their own Applauſe, than of others advantages, they have not ſo much labour'd*

bour'd to be ſound and inſtructive, as to be eſteem'd Eloquent and Learned. And therefore their Writings are either ſwell'd with Follies, or are Scandalous for Lying; are bedawb'd with beaſtly Words, or elſe defil'd with beaſtlier Things; ſo that the Chief Thing they aim'd at, being the Reputation of being thought Ingenious, when they ſpent ſo much time on ſuch unworthy Subjects; they ſeem'd to me, inſtead of having advanced the Credit of their Parts, much rather to have debas'd them. But I, who am a much greater lover of Things than Words, purſue Things profitable, rather than Things plauſible; neither do I deſire to be commended for ſuch empty Gewgaws of the Times, but for the uſefulneſs and ſolidity of my Matter; I am not for uſing tinſell'd Words in my poor Writings, but Phyſick and Remedies; not deſign'd to tickle the Ears of ſawntring, idle People, but to heal the ſick and wounded Conſcience; which, by God's Bleſſing, may both ways be of very great Advantage. If this Antidote of mine ſhall cure the ill Opinion ſome have taken up of our Great God, it will be of no ſmall Advantage that I have profited ſo many: But if it falls out otherwiſe, I ſhall not think I have loſt my Labour, having at leaſt attempted to do them good. For where good Deſigns and kind Endeavours do not meet with the intended Succeſs, in that Caſe the Will will be rewarded for the Deed. And ſo I will begin.

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THE

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

OF God's Governing the World. Page 1
The Prosperity of the Bad, and the Adversity of the Good, in this World: And how the Good cannot be but Blessed. p. 4
The Contempt of Riches, and the Profit of Infirmity. p. 8.
How *Cain* slew his Brother. p. 15.
The World drowned. p. 18.
The Destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*. p. 21.
The Rebellions of *Pharaoh*, and the Works of *Moses*. p. 24.

BOOK II.

Of Gods Governing the World. p. 37.
How God's Ears are always open to the Righteous. p. 39.
How Great things *David* suffered. p. 44.
An Example of Repentance, and the Advantages obtained thereby. p. 47.

BOOK

BOOK III.

The State of the Good much harder than the Bad. p. 53.
Of the just Judgments and Councils of God. p. 53.
What Faith is. p. 56.
How few or none are faithful towards God. p. 58.
What Murther is. p. 59
What it is to imitate Christ. p. 60.
Law Suits to be avoided, and how God is to be Obeyed in all things. p. 64.
The Errors of the Rich. p. 75

BOOK IV.

Of Holiness, &c. p. 81.
Of Theft, and of Servant's Faults, &c. p. 87.
How God is the Giver of all things, &c. p. 101
Of the Law accusing us for living wickedly, &c. p. 110

BOOK V.

Of the Law and its Commands. p. 127.
Of Hereticks and Tradition. p. 129.
Of Ignorance which excuseth. p. 131.
Of Envy. p. 134.
Of the Rarity of the Good. p. 137.
Of the Errors of the *Romans*. p. 138.

Of

Of Oppreſſion. p. 140
Of the Mercy of God. p. 149

BOOK VI.

How one Man's Crime hurts many. p. 157
Of Barbarous Sights. p. p. 161
Of the Impurity of the Theatres. p. 163
When we may be merry, and how far it is lawful. p. 169
Of Sin, *&c.* p. 174
Of the Devil's Enchantments. p. 180
How God ſometimes chaſtiſes us with Hardſhips; and ſometimes with Eaſe. p. 192

BOOK VII.

Of God's Chaſtiſements. p. 198
Of God's Goodneſs, *&c.* p. 201
Of what God requires of us. p. 203
Of the Vices of the *Aquitanes*. p. 204
Of the Vices of the *Africans*. p. 220
Of the Splendour of *Carthage*. p. 225
Of the Sin of one Man, *&c.* p. 232
Of the Vices of a bad Governour. p. 227

BOOK VIII.

How we our ſelves are the Authors of our own Miſery and Calamity. p. 245
How it is a kind of Sacriledge to hate the Worſhippers of God. p. 250

Some

Some BOOKS *Printed for* S. Keble, *at the* Turk's Head, *over against* Fetter-Lane *in* Fleet-ſtreet.

Monaſticon Anglicanum, or the Hiſtory of the Antient Abby's, and other Monaſteries, Hoſpitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in *England* and *Wales*; Publiſhed in *Latin* by Sir *William Dugdale*, Knight, and now Epitomized in *Engliſh*, Page by Page in *Folio*.

Epicteti Enchiridion, or the moſt Excellent Morals of *Epictetus*, made *Engliſh* in a Poetical Paraphraſe; By *Ellis Walker*, *M. A.*

An Explication of the Terms, Orders and Uſefulneſs of the *Liturgy*: by way of Queſtion and Anſwer, Recommended to be Learned after the Church Catechiſm.

A Table to all the Epiſtles and Goſpels in the Book of *Common Prayer*; ſo that you may find any Texts of Scripture, being contained in them. This Table may be put in your *Common-Prayer* Book.

The *Degrees* of *Marriage*, that which is ordered to be had in all Churches in *England*.

Three *POEMS* on St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, *viz.* The Ruins of the Re-building and the Choir.

A ſhort View of the Prophaneneſs and Immorality of the Engliſh *Stage*, &c. By *Jeremy Collier*, M. A. and his Firſt and Second Defence.

SALVIAN

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK I.

Of God's Governing the World: The Proſperity of the Bad, and the Adverſity of the Good, in this World: And how the Good cannot be but Bleſſed. The Contempt of Riches, and the Profit of Infirmity: How Cain *ſlew his Brother; The Deſtruction of* Sodom *and* Gomorrha; *The Rebellions of* Pharaoh, *and the works of* Moſes.

of God's Governing the World.

I. GOD Almighty is eſteem'd by many to neglect and diſregard Humane Affairs, that He neither protects the Righteous nor puniſhes the Wicked, and that That is the Reaſon why, generally ſpeaking, the Good are commonly miſerable in this World, and the Bad happy: Seeing we have to do with Chriſtians, the Word of God alone ought to be ſufficient to refute this; but becauſe many have ſomething in them of Heatheniſh Incredulity, it may be they may be alſo pleas'd with the Authorities of the greateſt and wiſeſt Heathens. I ſhall therefore ſhew, that even they who had not the true Religion, and ſo could not know God as they ought to do, becauſe utterly ignorant of that Law by which he is known, yet never dream'd of any ſuch Negligence or Careleſneſs

leſneſs as this. Thus the Great *Pythagoras*, whom Philoſopy her ſelf almoſt own'd for her Maſter, diſcourſing of the Nature and Beneficence of the Deity, ſays thus: *That he is a Soul dilated and diffus'd thro' every part of the Univerſe, from which every living Creature receives its Being.* How then can God be ſaid to neglect the World, when by this He ſhews ſo great Regard to it, that he diſpoſes Himſelf in every part and parcel of it? *Plato* and all his Followers declare God to be the Ruler of all Things. The Stoicks place him like a Pilot at the Helm of his Government. And how could they well form a more orthodox and religious Thought of the Love and Care of God Almighty than by thus comparing Him to a Pilot? For their Meaning is, that as when a Ship is under Sail, the Director of it has always his Hand upon the Rudder; ſo God's Care of the World is continual and without intermiſſion: and as the One is entirely employ'd in all the Faculties of his Soul and Body in ordering his Tackle to the Winds, avoiding the Rocks, and obſerving of the Stars, ſo our good God is always graciouſly beholding, and by His Providence governing, and moſt tenderly and compaſſionately loving the whole Order of Beings. Hence alſo is that moſt Divine Saying of *Virgil*'s to this purpoſe, and which ſhews him to have been a very Great Philoſopher as well as Poet.

Tully *de natur. Deorum.* Book I.

Virgil. Georg. 4.

——— *God is diffus'd thro' all*
The various Parts of the Terraqueous Ball.

So is that of *Tully*: *Nor can that God,* (ſays he) *underſtood*

who is known by us, be underſtood any other way, than as a free Mind void of, and ſeparated from all manner of Humane Compoſition, knowing and diſpoſing all Things. And in another place. *There is nothing more Excellent than God, and therefore the World muſt of Neceſſity be govern'd by Him.* 'Tis plain then that God is not under or ſubjected to any other Being or Nature, and therefore that He governs whole Nature himſelf; unleſs we ſhould be ſo very wiſe as to think, that He, who, we ſay governs all things, ſhould at one and the ſame time both govern and neglect them too. Seeing then that even all thoſe who are without the true Religion have been forceably, and of neceſſity compell'd to own, that all Things are throughly ſeen, order'd, and govern'd by God: How comes it to paſs that ſome now a days do think Him to be negligent and regardleſs, who by His quickſightedneſs ſees all things, diſpoſes of them by His Might, governs them by His Omnipotence, and preſerves them by his Goodneſs? I have ſhewn what the Chiefeſt Authors for Philoſophy and Eloquence have thought of the Majeſty and Government of the Great God; and I particularly took care to chooſe the moſt accompliſh'd Maſters in both thoſe admirable Arts, that I might the more eaſily make appear, that all the reſt had the ſame Senſe of the Matter, or at leaſt, that they diſſented without any manner of Authority. And really, I cannot find any of a different Judgment, bating a few whimſical Epicureans, or Epicurizers, who as they have link'd Voluptuouſneſs

Tully's *Tuſcul. Queſtions.* BOOK I.

with Vertue, ſo they have joyn'd God with Sloath and Careleſneſs, that they might ſhew the World the effect of their Sentiments, by following the Epicurean Vices as well as their Opinions.

The Proſperity of the Bad, and the Adverſity of the Good, in this World: and how the Good cannot but be bleſs'd.

II. I do not think my ſelf obliged in this place to produce any Divine Teſtimony to prove ſo plain a Truth, chiefly becauſe the holy Scriptures do ſo abundantly, and with ſuch Evidence contradict all the Reaſonings of the Wicked, that, as in the ſequel, I am anſwering their further Calumnies, I ſhall have an opportunity of more fully confuting what has been ſaid before. They urge then that all Things are neglected by God, becauſe He neither puniſhes the Bad nor protects the Good; and therefore the Condition of the better Sort is much the worſe in this World: for the Good are poor, but the Bad are rich; the Good weak, the Bad ſtrong; the Good mourning, the Wicked rejoycing; the Righteous miſerable and deſpis'd, the Wicked proſperous and advanc'd. I deſire to know in the firſt place of thoſe who either grieve at, or blame ſuch a Diſpenſation, whether they ſorrow for the Saints, that is, for true and faithful Chriſtians, or for Hypocrites and Impoſtors? If for the Hypocrite, 'tis an idle Sorrow that grieves that a bad Man is not happy: For they who are already wicked, would only be made worſe by Succeſs, and become rampant in their Villany. And therefore, for that very Reaſon they ſhould be more miſerable, that they may be leſs wicked; ſince they vouch the Name of their Religion for their diſhoneſt Gains, and make uſe of

of the Pretence of Sanctity only for their unrighteous and ſordid Bargains; if their Miſeries were compar'd with their Iniquities, they are leſs miſerable than they deſerve; becauſe let them be in the greateſt Misfortunes imaginable, yet their Wickedneſs will be ſtill greater than their Misfortunes And therefore we ought not by any means to be troubled that ſuch as theſe are not proſperous and happy: And much leſs ſhould we be afflicted for the Saints; for tho' they may ſeem to ignorant People to be miſerable, yet it is not poſſible for them to be otherwiſe than happy. 'Tis an idle thing for any one to judge other people miſerable either in Sickneſs or Poverty, or in any other State in which they take themſelves to be happy. For no one is miſerable in another Man's Opinion but his own. And therefore they cannot be miſerable by the miſtaken Judgment of another Man, who are truly happy in their own Conſciences. For I am of opinion, that none are more happy than thoſe who act according to their own Wiſhes and Deſires. So then if the Good are in mean Condition, 'tis what they would be: Are they poor, they take delight in their Poverty: Are they without Ambition, 'tis becauſe they deſpiſe it: Have they no Titles of Honour, 'tis becauſe they refuſe them: Do they mourn, they joy in Mourning; Are they weak, they rejoyce in Weakneſs. *For when* (ſays the Apoſtle) *I am weak, then am I ſtrong.* And he had good Reaſon to think ſo to whom God himſelf ſpeaks after this manner, *My grace is* 2 *Cor.* 12. *v.* 10 *v.* 9.

ſufficient for thee, for my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs. We muſt therefore take care not to be griev'd at any Affliction from ſuch Weakneſs, ſince we ſee that 'tis the Original of Strength; For, be it what it will, they who are truly Good are to be eſteem'd happy; and in the greateſt Diſtreſs none are more happy than thoſe who are in ſuch Circumſtances as they would be. There are ſome indeed who purſue Baſeneſs and Obſcenity, and in their own Opinion think themſelves happy, becauſe they obtain what they deſire; but in reality they are not ſo; becauſe it was their Duty to deteſt thoſe things they deſired. But the truly Religious are far happier than all of them, becauſe they both enjoy what they deſire, and cannot poſſibly be poſſeſs'd of better things than theſe they do enjoy. So that Labour, Faſting, Poverty, Beggary, and Sickneſs are not troubleſome to all that bear them, but only to thoſe who bear them unwillingly; and whether they ſeem heavy or light, it proceeds from the opinion of him who bears them. For as there is nothing ſo eaſie but is troubleſome to him who does it unwillingly, ſo there is nothing ſo heavy which will not ſeem light to him who undertakes it chearfully: unleſs it may be we think it was a Burden to thoſe antient Hero's the (a) *Fabij*, (b) *Fabritij*, and (c) *Cincinati*, that they were poor when they themſelves would not be rich, but plac'd their whole Study and Endeavours to advance the publick Intereſt, and by their own voluntary Poverty to enrich the Common-wealth. Can

(a) *See* Eachard's *Roman Hiſtory*, part. 1. p. 97. &c.

(b) *The ſame.* p. 174, 175, &c.

(c) p 105, 106, &c.

we

we think they underwent that frugal and hard Way of living with Grief and Whining? When they fed on the moſt ordinary Country Dyet before that fire at which they had dreſs'd it, and took not even that until the Evening? Do we think they were troubled that Loads of Gold did not oppreſs their rich and craving Conſciences, when they had reſtrain'd even the uſe of Silver by a Law? Or that they thought their Appetites and Deſires abridg'd, becauſe they had not Heaps of golden Treaſures, when they judg'd a (d) Grandee unworthy of the publick Truſt, becauſe he had to the value of ten Pounds in Silver. They did not doubtleſs then deſpiſe a mean Attire, when they cloath'd themſelves with a ſhort and coarſe Garment; when they were taken from the Plow to the Magiſtracy; and when appearing in all their Splendor, would wipe the Sweat and Dirt from off their Faces with the richeſt of their Robes. 'Twas ſuch poor Magiſtrates as theſe that made a rich Common-wealth; but now a rich Government makes the Publick poor: tho' 'tis certainly the greateſt Stupidity and Frenzy, to think that private Eſtates can hold, when the Publick is Beggarly and Starving. Such were the Brave antient *Romans*, and ſo they contemned Riches, altho' they knew not the true God, even as thoſe now deſpiſe them who follow our Lord. But I need not inſiſt ſo much on thoſe who in order to the enlarging of their Dominions deſpiſed their own private Intereſt for the ſake of the Publick, who, altho' their private Fortunes were

(d) Corn. Ruffinus Eachard's *Roman Hiſtory*, part 1ſt. p. 179.

small, yet had large Shares in the publick Treasure: Since (e) several of the Philosophers of *Greece*, without any manner of respect to the Publick, have renounc'd all Title to almost all their Estates, meerly out of a desire of Fame. And not only so, but have advanced their Precepts so far, as to contemn all sense of (f) Pain and Death it self, affirming that a wise Man is happy in the midst of Fetters and Torments, and that the Power of Vertue is so great, that it is not possible for a good Man to be otherwise than happy. If therefore these Men are not esteem'd by many now to have been miserable, who yet reap'd no other Advantage by their Sufferings, but only the present Reputation of them: By how much more are Religious and Holy Men not to be accounted so, who have both the Joy and Comfort of their present Faith, and shall hereafter be rewarded with future Bliss.

(e) Crates Bias. Diogenes &c.

(f) *All the Stoicks in general.*

III. One of these Gentlemen whom I am now confuting, once ask'd a certain holy good Man who embrac'd the Truth, that is, that God govern'd the World, and that it was absolutely necessary for the good of Mankind that he should sit at the Helm; *Pray if it be so* (says he) *will you tell me how you came to be sick and weakly?* His meaning was this, *viz.* If you think that God orders and disposes all things in this present Life, how comes such a Man whom I know, to be a very Villain, to be Lusty and Strong, and you, whom I verily believe to be good and vertuous, to be sickly and infirm? Who can forbear admiring the deep

The Contempt of Riches, and the profit of Infirmity.

deep reach of this Man, who thinks the Piety and Vertues of the Righteous worthy of ſuch mighty Rewards, that they ought in this preſent Life to be recompenſed with healthful and robuſt Conſtitutions! However I reply, not only on the behalf of this One, but of all good Men in general; and to the Queſtion, how good Men come to be weak and infirm, I anſwer briefly; becauſe righteous Perſons labour to keep their Bodies under, leſt if they were vigorous and robuſt, it ſhould be difficult for them to be ſo good as they are. For I gueſs that all Mankind become ſtrong and luſty by eating and drinking plentifully: And on the other hand, they grow weakly by Abſtinence, Temperance, and Faſtings. And therefore what wonder is it if thoſe Men are weak and infirm, who refuſe to make uſe of the Means by which others become healthful and ſtrong. However they have good reaſon for ſuch Conduct, ſince St. *Paul* ſays of himſelf, *I keep under my body, and bring it into ſubjection: leſt that by any means, when I have preached to others, I my ſelf ſhould be a Caſt-away.* If this Great Apoſtle thus deſired to pull down his Body, it can be no great Wiſdom to nurſe it up. If he dreaded a robuſt Conſtitution, there is no good Chriſtian that would reaſonably covet it: And therefore this may paſs for a ſufficient Reaſon, why ſome devout Chriſtians are both infirm, and deſire to be ſo; but that is no Argument to think that good Men are neglected by God, when for that very Reaſon, we truſt they are more belov'd by him. We read of the

1 *Cor.* 9. *v.* 27.

the Apoſtle *Timothy*, that he was of a very weak Conſtitution, but ſhall we thence conclude that he was neglected by our Lord, or that by reaſon of his Infirmity he was leſs acceptable to Chriſt, when the Reaſon of his being ſo was an Endeavour to pleaſe him? And when St. *Paul* ſaw him very much weakned by frequent Sickneſſes, he ſuffer'd him to make uſe of only a very ſmall quantity of Wine, that is, he would have him take care of his Health, but not to pamper the Fleſh ſo far as thereby to make it unruly. But for what end did he thus? Without doubt for the Reaſon he himſelf gives; becauſe *the fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit, and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh; and theſe are contrary the one to the other, ſo that ye do not the things that ye would.* A certain Author on this place ſaid not indiſcreetly, if we cannot do our Duty as we deſire by reaſon of the Rebellion and unrulineſs of the Body, it muſt be humbled and pull'd down, that the Duty may be done: For, ſays he, *The infirmity of the fleſh puts ſuch an Edge on the Vigour of the Mind, that when it is indiſpos'd, all the Powers of the Body are transferr'd into the Faculties of the Soul, the inward Parts do not broil with baſe Luſts; no ſecret Incentives inflame the diſtemper'd Mind; the wandring Senſes do not ramble and play the Wanton with a thouſand tempting Objects; but the Soul alone, as Sovereign Miſtreſs in a diſtemper'd Body, is merry and joyful, and triumphs over the Fleſh, as if her Enemy were overcome.* This then which I have ſet down, is the Cauſe of good Mens Infirmi-

1 *Tim.* 5. *V.* 23.

Galat. 5. *V.* 17.

Salvian *Epiſt.* 5.

Infirmities, and, I believe by this time you are of my Opinion too.

IV. But it may be you'll ſay there are greater Things than theſe, *viz.* That they ſuffer grievous and cruel Hardſhips; that they are caſt into Priſons; that they are put to Torture, and that they are ſlain. All that is true. But in this what do we more than both the Prophets, who were carried into Captivity; and the Apoſtles alſo who endur'd Torments? And yet notwithſtanding we do certainly believe that God Almighty took extraordinary Care of them, even then, when they ſuffer'd thoſe Hardſhips for his Service. But perhaps for this very Reaſon you'll pretend to prove, that God does not regard the Things of this World now, but reſerves them entirely to his future Judgment; becauſe, for the moſt part, good Men ſuffer all the ill Things, and the Bad inflict them. I muſt confeſs the Aſſertion ſeems not to ſavour altogether of Infidelity, becauſe it does ſo plainly own God's future Judgment: But we maintain that Mankind are ſo to be judg'd by Chriſt, as that at the ſame time we believe that God does now diſpoſe and order all things as he thinks moſt fit and convenient; and we affirm that he will ſit as Judge in the future Judgment, but ſo that at the ſame time we teach, that he does always exerciſe Judgment in this World: For ſince God does always govern, he does always judge: becauſe Government it ſelf is the exerciſe of a Judicial Power. How many ways would you have this prov'd? Whether by Reaſon, Examples

How Cain ſlew his Brother.

amples or Teſtimony? If by Reaſon; who is there ſo void of common Senſe, or ſo great a Stranger to the Truth we are diſcourſing of, that does not ſee and acknowledge, that the moſt beautiful Frame of the World, and the ineſtimable Magnificence of ſuperior and inferior Things are all govern'd by the ſame glorious Being which created them; that he that form'd the Elements is ſtill their Moderator, who, as at firſt he made all Things by his Authority and Power, ſo he ſtill rules them by his Providence and Wiſdom? Eſpecially when in tranſacting all our own Affairs, nothing can be manag'd without Prudence, and that every thing has it's Safety and Succeſs from Wiſdom and Forecaſt, as the Body has it's Life from the Soul. So that in this World not only Empires and Provinces, Civil and Military Affairs, but even the ſmalleſt Offices and private Families, nay the very Beaſts and the moſt minute and contemptible of our Domeſtick Creatures, are not to be manag'd without Conduct, and a prudent and orderly Diſpoſition. And without doubt 'tis the Will of God that thus it ſhould be, that all Mankind might rule the ſeveral Parts alloted them after the Pattern ſet them by him, who ſo wiſely ſteers the whole. But, ſay you, things were thus order'd and diſpos'd in the beginning of the Creation; But when God had made the Univerſe, and perfected all things therein, he abandon'd all further Care of earthly Matters, and renounc'd it. I warrant you to avoid the Drudgery, he remov'd it far enough from him, or was afraid

of

of being tir'd with it, or being taken up with other Matters, he left part of the Creation to it ſelf, being unable to look after the whole.

V. You ſay then that God has left all Care of mortal Matters. If ſo, pray tell me to what purpoſe ſerves Religion? What reaſon have we to worſhip Chriſt, or what hope of gaining his Favour? For if God does not at all regard Mankind in this World, to what end do we daily lift up our hands to Heaven, why do we by frequent Prayers implore God's mercy, why do we run to the Churches, and why proſtrate our ſelves before the Altars? *The Deſtruction of* Sodom *and* Gomorrha.

The very Reaſon of all Prayer is deſtroy'd, if we have not hope of obtaining what we ask. And therefore you ſee the Vanity and Folly of ſuch an Aſſertion, which, if it ſhould be admitted, does utterly deſtroy all the Foundations of Religion. But it may be you'll fly to this Excuſe, and ſay, that we worſhip God now out of Fear of his future Judgment: and that we labour to pay him all the preſent Service we can, that we may obtain Mercy and Forgiveneſs in the World to come. What means St. *Paul* the Apoſtle then by his commanding and ordering *that Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks* ſhould be conſtantly every day offer'd to our God in the Church? And for what Reaſon did he order thus? But for that which he tells us, *that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all godlineſs and honeſty.* 1 *Tim.* 2. *V.* 1. *V.* 2.

Here we ſee he commands us to offer Supplications and Prayers for Things of this preſent Life:

Life: and he would never have given ſuch a Command, if he were not confident that we ſhould obtain them. How therefore does any one think that God's ears are open to Prayers offer'd for the Good things of the other Life, but are clos'd and ſhut up to thoſe of this Life? Or how come we in our Prayers in the Church to beg of God preſent Security, if we think we are not heard at all? There are therefore no Prayers to be offer'd for our preſent Safety and Proſperity, but rather that the Modeſty of the Petition may procure Audience for him that prays, it may be convenient to addreſs himſelf thus: *Lord, we ask not for Proſperity in this Life, nor for the good things of this preſent time, we know thy ears are ſhut up and baricaded to ſuch Prayers, ſo as thou canſt not hear them; all that we deſire is, that thou wouldeſt be favourable to us after death in the World to come.* Suppoſe now ſuch a Prayer as this were pertinent and uſeful, yet how would it conſiſt with Reaſon and good Senſe? For if God has ſequeſtred himſelf from all manner of regard of the Affairs of this World, and ſhut his ears againſt all Petitioners whatever, certainly he who does not hear us when we pray for preſent good things, does not hear us when we crave thoſe that are future; unleſs we imagine that according to the difference of the Petition, Chriſt does either afford or refuſe his ears, that is, that when we deſire the good Things of this Life he ſhuts them, and opens them when we beg the future. But no more on this head: becauſe all theſe Pretences are ſo very frivolous

and

and fooliſh, that we had need take care that we do not affront the Divinity, whilſt we are endeavouring to reſcue and preſerve his Honour. The Reverence and Regard we owe the Divine Majeſty is ſo awful and tremendous, that we ought not only to deteſt whatever is ſpoken againſt his Religion, but alſo to take all the Care that may be, that what we our ſelves offer in it's defence be done with the greateſt Caution and Circumſpection imaginable. Well then, if it be folly and wickedneſs to think that the Divine Goodneſs deſpiſes all Care of Humane Affairs, for that reaſon, 'tis plain, that he does not diſregard them; if he does not diſregard them, then he directs them: If he directs and orders them, for that very Reaſon 'tis manifeſt, that he judges them, for 'tis not poſſible to ſuppoſe a Government, where the Governour is not inveſted with a Power of Judging.

VI. But after all, theſe Proofs from Reaſon may ſeem to ſome to be of little moment, unleſs we likewiſe confirm it by *Examples*. Let us take a view then of God's Government of the World from the beginning, and thence we will ſhew, that he has ever ſo govern'd all things, that we may inform you that he has at the ſame time likewiſe paſs'd Judgment on them. For what ſays the Scripture? *And the Lord God formed man of the duſt of the ground, and breath'd into his noſtrils the breath of life:* And after *He placed him in the garden of Eden.* Then *He gave him a Law, Precepts to inſtruct him, and Diſcipline to direct him.* *The Rebellions of Pharaoh, and the works of Moſes.* Gen. v. 7. v. 16.

And

And what was the consequence of all this? Gen. 3. *Man transgress'd God's Commandment, has Sentence pass'd upon him, loses Paradise, and is punish'd for his Transgression.* Who is so blind as not to see God acting both as Governour, and Judge in this whole Affair? For when he plac'd *Adam* in Paradice, he was innocent, when he expell'd him, guilty: In the placing of him he exercis'd Government, in his expulsion, Judgment; when he put him in the place of Pleasure, he dispos'd of him by his Power; but when for his Guilt he expell'd him, he judg'd him. This was the Case of the first Man, that is, the Father; let us see how it far'd with the Second, that is, the Son. Gen. 4. *In process of time it came to pass*, says the holy Scripture, *That Cain brought of the fruit of the* v. 3, 4, 5. *ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof; and the Lord had respect unto Abel and his offering; but unto Cain and his offering he had no respect.* Before I speak of the more manifest Judgment of God in this Matter, I must take notice, that in what I have now repeated, there seems to me a sort of passing of Sentence. For in this particular, that God accepted the Sacrifice of the one, and rejected that of the other, he did most evidently declare the Righteousness of the one, and the Iniquity of the other. But this is the least of the Case. When therefore *Cain*, in order to accomplish his design'd Villany, had drawn his Brother abroad, he committed the Fact in the most lonely place, in this equally impious

impious and fooliſh, that could imagine he might perform the deteſtable curſed Deed, if he avoided humane Eyes, and yet durſt murder his Brother in the face of the Almighty: which makes me believe that he was of the opinion that many are now a days, that God does not at all regard things here below, and ſo does not ſee the Naughtineſs of cruel and ungodly Men: and one can't doubt it by his Management, when after the horrid Deed, being call'd upon by God, he deny'd that he knew any thing at all of his Brother's Murder; he thought God Almighty knew ſo little of the Matter, that he might conceal the unnatural Fact with a Lye. But he found the contrary to his coſt. For he, who when he committed the Murder, thought God did not ſee, was made ſenſible that he did ſee when he was condemn'd for it. I deſire therefore to be ſatisfied in this place, by thoſe who deny that Humane Affairs are either regarded, govern'd, or adjudg'd by God, whether what I have at preſent urged, proves the contrary or no? It ſeems to me, that he who is preſent at a Sacrifice, is not abſent from it, and that he ſhews the Exerciſe of Government, who after ſuch Sacrifice, inflicts a Puniſhment upon *Cain*: that he ſhews Care and Regard, who demands an account of the Slain at the hands of the Murderer: and that he exerciſes Judgment who paſſes a righteous Sentence on the wretched Aggreſſor. From all which, it is very natural to make this Obſervation, that *we ſhould not by any maans think it ſtrange that good Men now a days ſuffer Hard-*

ſhips, ſince at that time Heaven permitted the firſt Saint on Earth to be Barbarouſly murdered. But for what reaſon it was permitted, the ſhortneſs of a humane underſtanding will never be able to reach, neither is it my Buſineſs at preſent to enquire: It is ſufficient to my purpoſe, that I prove that ſuch Occurrences as theſe come not to paſs, without the knowledge or notice of God Almighty, but that they are permitted ſo to be in his Providence and Wiſdom. Neither can we by any means eſteem that thing to be unjuſt in which we cannot deny the Sentence of Heaven to have paſſed: becauſe whatſoever is the will of God muſt of neceſſity be the perfection of Juſtice. It is not for us to Cenſure God's doings as unjuſt; Man's Underſtanding was never deſign'd to comprehend the Compaſs of Divine Juſtice. But to return whence we digreſs'd.

The World's drowned.

VII. We ſee then, by what has been ſaid, that in the Inſtances I have given, that nothing of them came to paſs thro' theDiſregard of the Almighty, but that the Divine Providence order'd and appointed ſome of them, by His long-ſuffering permitted others, and paſs'd a juſt Sentence on the reſt. However, it may be, there are ſome ſtill may think that it is not ſufficient for me to have prov'd my Aſſertion by a few ſingle Inſtances; let us ſee therefore, whether I cannot prove the ſame thing thro' all the Race of Mankind. When therefore the Number and Iniquities of Mankind were equally increas'd: *God ſeeing* (ſays the Sacred Scripture) *that the Wickedneſs of man was great*

in

in the Earth, and that every imagination of the Thoughts of his Heart was only evil continually: Gen. 6.
it repented the Lord that he had made Man on v. 5, 6, 7.
the Earth, and it griev'd him at His heart. And the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from off the face of the Earth. Let us consider here how much the extraordinary Care and strict Justice of the Lord is shewn in all these Particulars. And first, he says, *God seeing*: Secondly, *it grieved him at his heart*; Thirdly, *I will destroy* (says he) *man whom I have created.* By the Expression in this place of *God's seeing all this*, is shewn his great Care: By the other *of grief*, his terrible Wrath: By that of *punishing*, the severity of his Justice. *It therefore repented God* (says the Scripture) *that he had made man on the earth*: Not that the Almighty is liable to such Motions, or subjected to any manner of Passion, but the sacred Writings, that they may the more plainly convey the Meaning of the Things Recorded, delivering them to us in our own way, after the manner of Men, by the Expression of *God's repentance*, do demonstrate to us the Greatness of His Anger. Now God's Wrath is the Punishment of the Offender. But what follow'd after this? *When God looked upon the earth*, (it goes on) *and behold it was corrupt, he said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is* v. 12, 13.
filled with violence thro' them, and behold I will v. 30.
destroy them with the earth: It follows, *The Fountains of the great deep were broken up, and* Gen. 7.
the windows of Heaven were opened, and the v. 11.

rain was upon the earth forty days and forty
V. 21. *nights.* And a little after, *And all flesh died*
that moved upon the earth. And again; *And*
Noah only remain'd alive, and they that were
V. 23. *with him in the Ark.* Here now I would fain know from them, who would have it that God is altogether regardless of Things here below, whether or no at that time they think God did either regard or judge Things on the Earth? For I am of Opinion, that he did not only barely judge them, but passed, as it were, a double Sentence upon them: Because, when on the one hand, he preserv'd the Righteous, he shew'd himself merciful and their Rewarder; and on the other hand by his punishing of the Ungodly, he shew'd the strictness of his Justice. But perhaps these things, because transacted, as it were in another Age before the Flood, may not have so great Weight among some of the weaker Sort, as they ought to have: as tho' there were some other God at that time, or else, that He afterward grew sullen, and would not take the same Trouble that he had done before. I could by Divine Assistance, prove what I have said thro' all Ages since the Flood, but the Greatness of the Number will not admit it; and besides, some few of the most considerable Instances may suffice: For since 'tis beyond all doubt, That the God of the first Men and of their Posterity, is the very same, that must be expected in the Government of the Posterity, which we find by Instances to be true in that of our Fore-fathers,

VIII. When

VIII. When therefore after the Universal Deluge, God had blessed Mankind, and the Fruits of that Blessing appear'd in their extraordinary Encrease: The Lord called to *Abraham* out of Heaven, and commanded him to leave his own Countrey, and go and find out another. Here he is call'd, he obeys, he arrives at it, is placed in it, from Poverty becomes Rich, from a perfect Stranger becomes Powerful, from a contemptible Vagabond to be Great and Honourable. But lest these things, which were given him, might seem to be purely the Effects of God's Bounty, and not any Encouragement of his Obedience; he who was thus prosperous and successful, afterward underwent the Tryal of Adversity. For he afterward liv'd in Trouble, Hazards, and Dread of his Life; was tormented with Travelling from place to place, fatigu'd in Banishment, every where affronted; depriv'd of his Wife: God order'd his Son to be Sacrific'd the Father obeys, and offers him, as far as was possible in the Sincerity of his Intention. He's again banish'd, again in fear of his Life, envy'd by the *Philistines*, robb'd by *Abimelech*; These were mighty Misfortunes, and yet his Comforts were as Great: For tho' his Afflictions were many, yet the Lord deliver'd him out of all. In all these Transactions 'tis easie to observe, that God was an Overseer, an Inviter, a Guide; was Solicitous, a Promiser, a Protector, a Rewarder, a Prover, a Patron, a Revenger, and a Judge. He was an Overseer, when out of many he chose him alone

The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha.

Gen. 12.

whom he saw to be better than the rest: An inviter, when he call'd him from his own Country: A guide, when he brought him into an unknown Place: He was solicitous when he visited him under the Tree: A promiser, when he assur'd him of Things to come: A protector, when he protected him among a strange People: A rewarder, when he enrich'd him. A Patron and advancer, when he advanced him above all: A revenger, when he reveng'd him of his Adversaries: And a Judge because in the Act of his Vengeance, he judged them. To this Story of *Abraham*, God immediately subjoyns, and says, *The Cry of Sodom and Gomorrha is great, and their Sin is very grievous.* *The Cry*, says he, *of Sodom and Gomorrha is very Great.* The way of speaking that Sins *do cry*, is remarkable: For doubtless the Cry of Sinners must be great, since it ascends from Earth to Heaven. But why should he use such an Expression, as that the Sins of Men *do cry?* Because God says, that his ears are wounded with the Cries of Sins, to hasten the Punishment of the Sinner: And a huge and mighty Cry it must be, when the long-suffering of God is so overcome by the Cry of Sins, that he is forc'd to inflict Punishment on the Sinner. The Lord does therefore here shew how unwillingly he inflicts Punishment on the greatest Trangressors, when he says, that *the Cry of Sodom is come up to him*, as much as if he had said, my Mercy does mightily incline me to spare them, but the Cry of their Sins does even force me to punish them.

Gen. 18. v. 20, 21.

them. But when he had said thus, what was the Consequence? Why, Angels are sent to *Sodom*, they go, they enter the Place, are kindly receiv'd by the good People, are abus'd and injured by the Bad. The Wicked are struck with Blindness, and the Righteous saved. *Lot* with his righteous Inclinations is taken out of the City, the City, with its unrighteous Inhabitants is burnt to Ashes. I desire to be inform'd in this place, whether God, according to his righteous Judgment destroy'd the Place, or; whether he did it without Judgment? Whoever, says God, punish'd the *Sodomites* without passing Sentence, makes him to be unjust; But if he did pass Sentence in the Destruction of the Wicked, then he judg'd them; and truly he judg'd them at present, as tho' it were at the future Judgment: For it is most certain, that Hell-fire burns for the Punishment of the Wicked hereafter, and *Sodom*, with it's neighbouring Cities, were destroy'd by fire from Heaven. So that by this present one, God seems to declare the Dreadful future Judgment, when upon a most unrighteous People he sent a sort of Hell from Heaven. Even as the Apostle also says: *And turning the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes, condemn'd them with an overthrow, making them an Example unto those that after should live ungodly:* And yet, even what was done there had more of God's Mercy in it, than of his Severity. For 'twas a piece of very great Mercy that he defer'd the Punishment of them so long, as it was of Justice that he did some time punish

Gen. 19.

2 Pet. 2. v. 6.

them. And therefore by his ſending Angels to *Sodom*, he would ſhew us with what unwillingneſs it is that he puniſhes Sinners: So, as that, when we read what the Angels ſuffer'd from the *Sodomites*, and conſider the exceſſive Greatneſs of their Villanies, the Deformity of their Crimes, and the Naſtineſs of their Luſts, God does by that ſhew his unwillingneſs to deſtroy them, if they themſelves had not extorted their own Deſtruction from him.

The Rebellions of Pharaoh, *and the Works of* Moſes.

IX. I could produce innumerable other Examples, but that I fear I ſhall ſeem to write an Hiſtory, whilſt I am endeavouring fully to prove the Thing I have undertaken. *Moſes* in the Deſart feeds a Flock, ſees the Buſh burning, hears God out of the Buſh, receives Commands from him, is exalted with Power, is ſent to *Pharaoh*, goes to him, ſpeaks with him, is rejected, and yet gains his Point; *Ægypt* is ſmitten, *Pharaoh* is ſcourg'd for his Diſobedience, and that by more ways than one, that the greater Criminal might be wrack'd with variety of Puniſhment. And what then? Why after all he rebels ten times, and is as often ſcourg'd. What ſay you to that? Why, I think you may perceive in this whole Affair, that God does both take care of, and judge Affairs here below. As for Inſtance in *Ægypt*, where there appears not only one ſingle One, but variety of God's Judgments: For as often as he ſmote thoſe who rebell'd againſt him in *Ægypt*, ſo often he judged them. But what follow'd after? *Iſrael* is ſent out, celebrates the Paſſover, ſpoils the *Ægyptians*, departs

Exod. 3.

with

with Riches: *Pharaoh* repents, draws together his Army, overtakes the departed, Encamps, is parted by the Cloud, the Sea is dry'd up, *Israel* passes through, is deliver'd by the kind sufferance of the friendly Waves, *Pharaoh* pursues, the Sea rowls upon him, and he is overwhelm'd in the Waters. I think in this whole Affair, there does appear the manifest Judgment of God; and not only his Judgment, but also his Long-suffering and Forbearance. For 'tis an Argument of great forbearance, that the wicked *Ægyptians* were often smitten, as 'tis of Judgment, that the Perverse and Impenitent were at length destroy'd. Well, after this Series of Things and Actions, *Israel* being Conquerour without a Battle, enters the Wilderness, travels without a Journey, sojourns without a Road, God his Leader, the Host of Heaven his Fellow-Soldiers, and heavenly Bodies his Guides, following the moving Pillar, cloudy by Day, and fiery by Night, changing its Colour and Complexion, as fitted best the change of either Season, that it might set off the brightness of the Day by it's shady Obscurity, and enlighten the darkness of the Night by it's shining Splendour. To these add Fountains, made on a sudden, add Medicated Waters either newly given, or else transmuted, remaining the same in Kind, tho' chang'd in qualities: the tops of Mountains open'd, with Rivers bursting from them, and Sandy Desarts watred with new unusual Streams, thousands of Fowls brought to the Travellers Camps, Heaven

ven by the tendereſt Love indulging, not only their Neceſſities, but even their Wantonneſs, the Stars afford them daily Food for forty Years, the Heavens ſtill dewing down the luſcious Meat, did pour it forth, not only for Subſiſtence, but for Pleaſure too. Beſides, the Men felt not in any Limb the alterations or decays natural to Humane Bodies: Their Nails ne're grew, they loſt no Teeth, their Hair ſtill of one length, their Feet nere fretted, their Garments always whole, their Shoes nere torn, their Honour was ſo great in all reſpects, that even their pooreſt Cloathing ſhared in the advancement. To this add God himſelf deſcending, purely to inſtruct them, and the Son of God appearing viſible to the eyes of Mortals, the mighty Numbers of the common Sort admitted to be familiar with their God, and honour'd with his Friendſhip. To theſe add Thunders, Lightnings, the dreadful Sounds of heavenly Trumpets, the fearful Crackling of the troubl'd Air, Heavens Axes growning with the ſacred Sounds, Fires, Darkneſs, Clouds all full of God, the Lord converſing face to face, the Law reſounding from the mouth of God, Letters cut by God's finger, pages hewn from the Quarry, a rocky Volumn, a People learning, and Great God their Teacher, and even one School for Heaven and Earth, made up of Men and Angels. For thus ſays the Scripture, that when *Moſes* had related the Words of the People unto the Lord, the Lord ſaid unto him, *Lo I come unto thee in a thick Cloud, that the people may hear when*

Exod. 19. *v.* 9.

when I ſpeak with thee. And a little after, *There were Thundrings and Lightnings, and a thick Cloud upon the Mount.* And again: *And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the Mount.* And afterward, *He did talk with Moſes, the whole Congregation beholding that the Pillar of the Cloud ſtood at the door of the Tabernacle, and they themſelves ſtood and worſhipped at the door of their Tabernacles. God talked with Moſes face to face, as a Man ſpeaketh to his friend.* Things being thus in fact, pray, does God ſeem to take care of Man or no, when he heaps ſo many Benefits upon him, and does ſuch mighty Things for him; when he admits ſo contemptible a Creature to converſe with him, and to be, even in ſome ſenſe, a ſort of Companion to him; when he opens thoſe hands for him that are crowded with immortal Treaſures, nouriſhing him with the cup of pleaſure, and feeding him with the bread of Heaven? I would fain know how he could better have expreſs'd the Care of his Government, what greater Tenderneſs could he poſſibly ſhew them, than by Reſpecting them ſo much in this Life, as to allow them a ſort of Anticipation of the Bleſſedneſs here-after?

v. 16. Exod. 33. v. 9, 10. v. 11.

X. But perhaps it will be anſwer'd here, that 'tis true, that a long time ago, God was thus careful of Mankind, but now a-days he do's not at all trouble himſelf with it. Pray how come we to be of that Opinion? Becauſe, it may be, we are not every day fed with Manna, as they were then, when we are provided

vided with plentiful Crops of Corn: Becauſe the Quails do not fly in our Faces to be catch'd, when we are ſupply'd with all ſorts of Birds, Beaſts and Cattle: Becauſe we drink not Water flowing from hardeſt Rocks, when we have Cellars Stor'd with choiſeſt Wines. Beſide, I am confident, that even we our ſelves, who think they were ſo much the Care of God, and that we are neglected by Him, ſhould he, inſtead of what we now enjoy, give us thoſe Things they had, would certainly refuſe the Offer. We would never part with what we have at preſent, to be poſſeſs'd of what they had; not that we have better Things now than that People then enjoy'd; but becauſe they who were thus daily fed by the hand of God and Heaven, preferr'd their former Gluttony to their preſent Proviſions, grew ſullen and afflicted with the baſe Remembrance of fleſhly Dyet, and lewdly hanker'd after Leeks and Onions: not that their former Food was any whit the better; but becauſe they were juſt in the ſame Condition that we are now: They abhorr'd what e're was preſent, and luſted for what was not: We commend the Things of that Age more than of our own: not that we had rather have them, if 'twere put to our Choice, but 'tis a Vice common to Mankind, our Deſires are always roving after what we have not. As one ſays well, *Other Men's Goods pleaſe us, and ours pleaſe other Men.* Beſide, 'tis almoſt univerſally true of us All, that there's not one of us but is guilty of Ingratitude toward God,

P. Syrus.

and

and 'tis a kind of Original Sin which taints us all; we are ſtill leſſening God's love and goodneſs, leſt we ſhould own our ſelves too much his Debtors. But enough of this, 'tis time to return where I left off; altho', I doubt not but I have ſufficiently prov'd my Propoſition, yet I ſhall add ſomewhat more, becauſe I judge 'tis ſafer to uſe more Proofs than what are barely needful, than to deſtroy a Cauſe perhaps, by being ſhort in uſing too few.

XI. The *Iſraelites*, having been ſome time deliver'd from the Yoak of *Pharaoh*, revolted at Mount *Sinai*, and are forthwith corrected by the Lord for their Folly. For ſo it is written. *And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the Calfe which Aaron made.* Exod. 32. v. 35. How could God Almighty execute a more evident Judgment on the Offenders than that Puniſhment ſhould immediately follow the Tranſgreſſion? But why ſince all the Congregation were guilty, was not Sentence paſs'd alike on all? Becauſe the God of mercy drew his Sword of Judgment againſt ſome, that others might amend by their Example; and that he might ſhew at once to all, his Juſtice in deſtroying, and Mercy in preſerving: 'Twas Juſtice that chaſtis'd them, and 'twas Mercy that ſpar'd them: altho' both in a different manner; for Mercy here had greater ſhare than Juſtice: Becauſe the Lord being always moſt compaſſionate, is ever more inclin'd to Mercy than to Vengeance, and altho' at that time in puniſhing part of the Jewiſh Hoſt, the Divine Juſtice made uſe of Judgment and Severity, yet

at

at that very time his Mercy ſaved by far the greater part: and that out of meer Compaſſion to their mighty Numbers, leſt the Puniſhment ſhould have deſtroy'd all whom the Guilt had infected. However we read that God's Juſtice is inexorable toward ſome Perſons and Families, as in the Caſe when the
Numb. 15. *v.* 36. People reſted on the Sabaoth-day, he who preſum'd to gather Sticks was order'd to be ſlain: For altho' the Act it ſelf was innocent, yet the Day on which he did it, made it Criminal: So in the Caſe of two contending Parties, one who blaſphem'd was put to death; For thus 'tis written, *Behold the Son of an Iſraelitiſh Woman, whoſe Father was an Ægyptian,*
Levit. 24. *v.* 10. *went out among the Children of Iſrael: And* *v.* 11 *this Son of the Iſraelitiſh Woman, and a Man of Iſrael ſtrove together in the Camp: And the Iſraelitiſh Woman's Son blaſphem'd the Name of the Lord, and curſed, and they brought him unto Moſes:* And a little after, *And they put him in* *v.* 12 *ward, that the mind of the Lord might be ſhewed them, and the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, ſaying;* *v.* 13. *Bring forth him that hath curſed without the* *v.* 14. *Camp, and let all that heard him lay their hands upon his Head, and let all the Congregation ſtone him.* Is not here a plain and manifeſt Judgment of God, and a Sentence in a heavenly Tryal, paſs'd according to the form of Humane Examinations? For firſt the Offender is ſeis'd; in the next place, he is brought before the Judgment-ſeat, then he is accus'd, then ſent into Priſon, and laſt of all, puniſh'd by a Sentence from above. And not only puniſh'd, but

but condemn'd in a Tryal by Witneſſes, that it might appear that 'twas Juſtice that convicted him, and not meer Power: that the Example might contribute to the Amendment of all, that no one in after-times ſhould dare to do thoſe things that all the People had puniſh'd in one. This is the Method and the Juſtice with which God does both now act, and with which he ever has acted: that the puniſhments inflicted on ſingle Perſons may tend to the Amendment of all. So it was in the caſe of *Nadab* and *Abihu*, both of the Prieſthood, when they were conſum'd with Fire: in whoſe deſtruction God had a mind to manifeſt, not only his common Judgment, but a very preſent, ſudden, and unexpected one. For thus ſaith the Scripture; That *when fire came out from before the Lord, and conſumed upon the Altar the Burnt-offering.* —— *Nadab and Abihu, the Sons of Aaron took either of them his Cenſer, and put fire therein, and offer'd ſtrange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not: And there went out fire from the Lord, and devour'd them: and they died before the Lord.* By this God would ſhew, that his hand is always ſtretch'd over us, and that the Sword of Vengeance hangs over our heads, ſince we ſee that he puniſh'd the Sin of theſe Men in the very Act: The Fact of theſe Sinners was ſcarce committed, before the Penalty reveng'd the Sin: but that is not the only remarkable Thing in this Affair, ſince there are many others. For in theſe Men it was not ſo much a wicked Heart, as a too raſh and unadviſed Eaſineſs that was puniſh'd; which

Numb 26. *v.* 61.
1 *Chron.* 24. *v.* 1, 2.
Levit. 9. *v.* 24.
Levit. 10. *v.* 1.
v. 2.

which is a Declaration from God himſelf, of what puniſhment thoſe are worthy, who dare Sin in open Contempt of the Divine Majeſty, when theſe Men are thus ſmitten who offended meerly for want of Conſideration: And how heinous a Guilt they would contract, who ſhould act expreſly againſt God's Commands, when theſe were ſo ſeverely ſcourg'd, who wanted nothing but a Command for their Actions. Further, by this, God provides for our Amendment, ſetting before us ſo wholeſome an Example, by which all of the Laiety may underſtand how greatly they ought to dread the Wrath of God; ſince neither the Merits of the Father could deliver, nor the Privilege of the ſacred Miniſtry free, even the Sons of the High-Prieſt from immediate Puniſhment. But why do I ſpeak of the Inconſiderateneſs of theſe Men, which in a manner affected God himſelf, and tended to the leſſening his Honour? *Miriam* ſpeaks againſt *Moſes*, and is puniſh'd; and not only barely ſo, but in a Judicial way: For in the firſt place, ſhe is ſummon'd to appear in Judgment: Then ſhe is convicted, and in the laſt place puniſh'd. In the Reproof given her, there was the force of a Sentence; in her Leproſie ſhe was put in the State of a real Offender; and this Cenſure did not only humble *Miriam*, but *Aaron* alſo; For tho' it was not meet that the High Prieſt ſhould be deform'd by Leproſie, yet nevertheleſs the Chaſtiſement of the Lord was upon him; and not only ſo, for *Aaron*, as Partaker in the Crime, is chaſtis'd, in that very Puniſhment

Numb. 12. *v.* 1.

which

which *Miriam* ſuffer'd: for the puniſhment is laid upon *Miriam*, that *Aaron* may be confounded with the Guilt. But that we may further underſtand how inexorable God is in his Judgment in ſome caſes, we ſhall ſee that he will not hearken to the Interceſſion, even of the offended Party. Thus we read that the Lord ſaid unto *Aaron* and *Miriam*; *Where-fore were ye not afraid to ſpeak againſt my ſervant Moſes? And the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt them, and he departed. — And behold Miriam became Leprous white as Snow. And Moſes cry'd unto the Lord, ſaying, Heal her now, O God, I beſeech thee. And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, if her Father had but ſpit in her face, ſhould ſhe not be aſhamed ſeven days? Let her be ſhut out from the Camp ſeven days, and after that let her be receiv'd in again.* What I have ſaid on this head and part of my Diſcourſe is ſufficient: for it would be endleſs to enlarge upon all, when the very naming them would be ſufficiently tedious, without ſtaying to make Diſcourſes upon them. However, I ſhall add ſomewhat more.

Numb. 12. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 13. v. 14.

XII. The *Iſraelites* repent that they left *Ægypt*, they are ſmitten for it; they murmur at the great Fatigue of their Journey, they are afflicted for it: They long for Fleſh, and are ſcourg'd for it. Being weary of feeding every day on Manna, they deſire to glut themſelves with Dainties, their craving Appetites are gratify'd to the full; but whilſt their Bellies are cramm'd, they are tormented: *For while* (ſays the Scripture) *the meat was yet in*

Pſal. 78. v. 30, 31. *their mouths, the heavy Wrath of God came up on them, and ſlew the fatteſt of them, and ſmote*

Deut. 3. v. 3. *down the choſen Men of Iſrael. Og rebels againſt Moſes, and is deſtroy'd: Core reproaches him,*

Numb. 26. v. 9, 10. *and is overwhelm'd: Dathan and Abiram murmur, and are ſwallow'd up. For the Earth open'd*

Pſal. 106 v. 17. *and ſwallow'd up Dathan, and cover'd the Congregation of Abiram.* Two hundred and fifty Principal Men likewiſe, as the Scripture teſti-

Numb. 16. v. 2. fies, who were by name call'd to Council, made an Inſurrection againſt *Moſes*: And at the time of their withſtanding *Moſes* and *Aaron*, they ſaid, it is ſufficient for us *that all the Congregation are holy every one of them; Wherefore then lift you up your ſelves above the*

v. 3. *Congregation of the Lord?* And what follow-

v. 35. ed? *Why, fire came out from the Lord, and conſum'd the two hundred and fifty Men that offer'd Incenſe.* But after all theſe mighty Things, they receiv'd no Advantage from Heavens care, they were often under the Rod, but ſtill without Amendment: For, as we at this time are every day ſcourg'd, yet are nere the better, ſo they under all their Chaſtiſements continued ſtill the ſame. For what ſays the Scripture? The

v. 41. day following, *the whole Congregation murmured againſt Moſes and Aaron, ſaying; Ye have killed the People of the Lord.* And what then? Fourteen thouſand and ſeven hundred Men were deſtroy'd in a trice by Fire from Heaven. But how comes it ſince all the People had tranſgreſs'd that they di not all likewiſe ſhare in the Puniſhment, eſpecially conſidering that in the Rebellion of *Cor.h*, beforementioned, not

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a Soul escaped? How comes it to pass that in that case God would destroy the whole Body of the Offenders, but in this only some part of them? Because God is plentiful both in Mercy and Justice, and of his Essential goodness forgives many times, as well as exercises Severity in Vindication of his Justice. And therefore in that Case his Justice took place, that by punishing all the Offenders, it might tend to the Reformation of all that saw or heard it: But in this he exercises Mercy, lest a whole People should be destroy'd. And yet when he had used them with so much Compassion, and saw the often-repeated Scourging of a part only of the offending Multitude had so little Success, at the last he utterly destroy'd them all: The Consideration of which should both make us tremble, and spur us on to Amendment, lest we, who neglect to reform our selves from their Example, come to the same miserable End that they did. For what became of them is plain beyond all doubt; for seeing that the Chief Design of bringing the Children of *Israel* out of the Land of *Ægypt*, was purely that they might possess the Land of Promise, only two holy and good Men, of all that vast Body entred into it. For thus says the Scripture; *The Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying, how long shall I bear with this evil Congregation which murmur against me. As truly as I live, saith the Lord, as you have spoken in mine ears, so will I do unto you; your Carcasses shall fall in this wilderness.* And afterward, *But your little ones which you* *Numb* 14. *v.* 26, 27. *V.* 28. *v.* 31.

ſaid ſhould be a Prey, them will I bring in, and they ſhall know the Land which ye have deſpiſed.
But as for you, your Carcaſſes they ſhall fall
v. 32. *in this wilderneſs.* And what follow'd? *They all died and were cut off before the Lord.* What is there now in all theſe Inſtances where God is not? Would you ſee him a Governour? Behold, he rectifies Things preſent, and ordereth what ſhall be for the time to come. Would you ſee him a ſevere Judge? Loe he puniſhes the guilty: Would you behold him juſt and merciful? Loe he ſpares the Innocent. Would you ſee him Univerſal Judge? Behold he is Judgment it ſelf. For as a Judge he reproves us, and as a Judge he rules us: As a Judge he paſſes Sentence, as a Judge he deſtroys the guilty, and as a Judge he rewards the Innocent.

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK II.

Of God's Governing the World; How God's Ears are always open to the Righteous; How Great things David *ſuffered. An Example of Repentance, and the Advantages obtained thereby.*

THE Examples I have before produced, are ſufficient to prove that our God is ever a moſt ſolicitous Regarder, a moſt merciful Governour, and a moſt juſt Judge. Notwithſtanding which, ſome of the weaker Sort may yet think; if things are now order'd by God as they were heretofore in thoſe days; How comes it about, that bad Men prevail, and that the Good are in diſtreſs; in thoſe days the Wicked felt the weight of God's Wrath, and the Righteous his loving Kindneſs; but now the Righteous in ſome ſort ſeem to experience his Wrath, and the Wicked his Favour? I ſhall give an Anſwer to all this preſently: But now, ſince in the foregoing Book I engag'd to prove theſe three Things, to wit, The *Preſence* of God, His *Government* and *Judgment*, by theſe three Topicks of *Reaſon*, *Examples*, and *Teſtomony*; and having already

of God's governing the World.

already gone thro' the two firſt, it remains that I manifeſt the ſame by *Teſtimony:* although in ſtrictneſs the Examples I have produced already ought to paſs for Teſtimony, for that is rightly call'd Teſtimony, whereby the Truth of things is prov'd. But which of the abovementioned Three ſhall I begin to prove firſt by this Teſtimony, whether God's Preſence, His Governing, or His Judging? His Preſence, I think, whether he govern or judge; for without doubt, he ought to be preſent before he can exerciſe either the one or the other. The holy Scripture in it's ſacred Pages ſpeaks thus: *The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good.* Here you have him preſent, here you have him beholding and watching in every place by his Care and Providence: For therefore is it ſaid, that he conſiders both the Good and the Bad, to ſhew that nothing can be neglected by him, who ſo narrowly views every thing. But for a further Underſtanding of the Matter, hear what the ſame holy Spirit teſtifies in another part of Scripture. *The eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him.* —— *To deliver their Soul from death, and to feed them in the time of Dearth.* Here is a reaſon given why God is ſaid to behold good Men, namely, that he may preſerve and protect them. For 'tis from the Propitious eye of Heaven that Mankind ought to date their preſervation. So the ſame holy Spirit in another place: *The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their Prayers.* See here with how

Prov. 15. v. 3.

Pſal. 33. V. 17, 18.

Pſal. 34. V. 15.

how much goodneſs the holy Scripture repreſents God dealing with his People. For in that it ſays, *The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous*, it ſhews the Affection of the gracious Beholder: in that *his ears are open unto their Prayers*, is demonſtrated the Liberality and Bounty of the Hearer.

How God's ears are always open to the Righteous.

In the Expreſſion that God's ears are always ready to receive the Prayers of the Righteous is meant, not only bare Hearing, but a kind of Condeſcenſion likewiſe.

But how are God's ears always open to the Prayers of the Righteous? How, but becauſe God always hears, and always grants their Petitions as ſoon as ask'd: Our Lord's ears are always ready to hear the Prayers of his Saints, always attentive: And, Oh how trebly bleſſed and happy ſhould we be, were we as ready to obey and do the Will of God, as we read here, that God is ready and willing to hear us! But you'll ſay, it may be, that what we read of God's beholding the Juſt, does not help my Cauſe at all: Becauſe that cannot be call'd a general Beholding, which is reſtrain'd by a particular Favour to the Juſt only. It is but a little before where the Text is produc'd, which ſays; *The eyes of the Lord behold the evil and the good:* However, if a further Proof be deſir'd, mind what follows, for thus it ſubjoyns, *The countenance of the Lord is against them that do evil, to root out the remembrance of them from the earth.* Here certainly is no room left for Complaint, that God do's not alſo behold the Unjuſt: but notwithſtand-

Pſal. 34. v. 16.

ing this general View he takes of both, yet he beholds them with a vaſt difference as to their Merits; he beholds the Good, that he may preſerve them, but the Bad, that he may deſtroy them; among whom you, who have the Courage to deny that God beholds Mankind, muſt expect your ſhare; For know that you are not only ſeen by the Almighty, but acknowledge that your deſtruction is inevitable: For ſince *the Countenance of the Lord is upon them that do evil, to root out the remembrance of them from the Earth*, it is of neceſſity that you, who wickedly deny the Countenance of God to behold any thing, ſhould perceive the Wrath of the Beholder in your Deſtruction. And this ſhall ſuffice for the firſt thing, which is of *God's Preſence in*, and his beholding of, Humane Affairs.

II. Let us ſee now whether he who beholds them, governs them; certainly ſo, for the main Reaſon of His Beholding is in order to His Governing; for he do's not regard and mind them, only in order to neglect them, when we underſtand that he do's not neglect by the very Act of his minding them; eſpecially, ſince holy Writ witneſſes, as above, that God beholds the Wicked in order to their Deſtruction, and the Good for their Preſervation. And in this very Thing the Diſpenſation of God's Government is manifeſted; for the Juſtice of Government do's entirely conſiſt in this, to deal with every Man according to the meaſure of his Deſerts. But let us view a plainer Teſtimony in this Matter. The holy

Ghoſt

Ghoſt ſays to God the Father in the *Pſalm*, *Hear, O thou ſhepherd of* (*or thou who governeſt*) *Iſrael*. The word *Iſrael* ſignifies *ſeeing God*, whom yet all faithful Chriſtians may behold in their Heart and by Faith: and altho' God be the Ruler of all Men, yet thoſe are ſaid more peculiarly to be govern'd by him, who do more peculiarly deſerve the Benefit of the Divine ear. So that you, whoever you are, if ſo be you are a Chriſtian, muſt of neceſſity believe your ſelf to be govern'd by God. But if you do not believe, with other Chriſtians, that you are govern'd by God; you muſt of neceſſity know that you are ſeparated from all other Chriſtians. But if you deſire to be inform'd, as we have hinted above, what is the State of all Mankind in general, and not of the Chriſtians in particular, the Holy Scripture will ſolve your Doubt, which affirms, that all things are continually and without intermiſſion, order'd and govern'd by God. For *he loveth Council and Diſcipline*. Nor is there any other God whoſe Care is Univerſal. *For ſo much then as thou art righteous thy ſelf, thou ordereſt all things righteouſly*; — *and ordereſt us with great favour*. Here you ſee God always diſpoſing Affairs, and always governing; and beſides, there is not only in this place a Declaration of his Governing, but alſo an Exaltation of Humane Nature: For in the words, *Thou ordereſt us*, is the Force of God's Power, but in thoſe *with great favour* is the height of Humane Honour. So in the Prophet; *Do not I fill Heaven and Earth*.

Pſal. 80. v. 1.

Wiſd. 12. v. 15, 18.

Jer. 23. v. 24. *earth, ſaith the Lord?* And He himſelf declares why he fills all things: *Becauſe I am*
Jer. 42. v. 11. *with you,* (ſays he) *and will ſave you.* God do's not only barely declare his Power, and his filling all things, but ſhews the Efficacy and Benefit of ſuch his filling. For the Divine filling brings this Advantage with it, that it ſaves every thing which it fills. And therefore the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul*, in the *Acts* of
Acts 17. v. 28. the *Apoſtles* ſays: *In him we live and move and have our Being.* Certainly he is more than a bare Diſpoſer of Life, in whom is the Principal of Motion of the Creature that lives. For he do's not ſay that we are mov'd *by him*, but *in him*, thereby informing us, that the Subſtance of us All is engraffed in the Divine Perfections: Becauſe we plainly live in him from whom we receive even our very Exiſtence. So our Saviour
Matth. 28. v. 20. himſelf in the Goſpel: *Loe I am with you alway even unto the end of the world.* He did not only ſay that he was with us, but that he was with us *always.* And do you, ungrateful Man, venture to ſay, that he who is always with us, do's neither regard nor care for us? What, do's he ſtay with us for no other end but to deſpiſe and neglect us? How are theſe Things conſiſtent, that he ſhould afford us his Preſence out of Love, and yet hate us by his Neglect? For he ſays, *Loe I am with you always even unto the end of the world.* We put a very pretty Meaning on the loving-kindneſs of God, by ſlandering him for neglecting us, when at the ſame time he openly declares that he do's never leave us. He would by this ſhew us,

that

that he would never depart from us in Affection and Protection, becauſe his Preſence ſhould be always with us: And we convert this Divine Charity into Contempt of us, and change theſe Marks of Love into Arguments of Hatred. For this His ſaying, that *he would be always with us*, we make a Teſtimony of Hatred rather than of Love. For if the Lord had ſaid he ſhould be abſent, there would be leſs Reaſon to accuſe him of diſregard in Abſence. It ſhews a much greater Slight and Contempt, if he ſhould always neglect us, who always remain'd with us; 'tis great aggravation of Hatred to us, if he ſhould ſtay with us only for this End, always to let us have his Preſence, and yet never to love us. Far be it from us to have ſuch Thoughts of the moſt Loving and merciful God, that he ſhould be always near us, only that by ſuch nearneſs, he might ſlight and neglect us the more; and far be it from us to ſpeak it. I am perſwaded there is ſcarce ſuch a Varlet to be found among all Mankind, that deſires to be near another Man, purely becauſe he do's not love him; and that would covet to enjoy his Company, meerly that he might have the better opportunity to hate and deſpiſe him. Let therefore Humane Nature either inform or convince us: For if we do not deſire to be with any Man, unleſs ſuch as we have Reſpect for; and becauſe we have ſuch reſpect, we endeavour that our *Company* may be as *grateful* and *advantageous* to him we do ſo love: How come we then to take away that from God, which you muſt allow to a wicked Man, and to depreſs

him

him beneath, even the very worſt of Men: that he ſhould tell us, that he would be always with us, that he might uſe us with the greater Scorn and Contempt? But enough of this.

How great things David *ſuffered.*

III. It remains that, ſince I have prov'd by Teſtimonies of holy Writ, that all things are order'd and govern'd by God, I ſhould ſhew in like manner, that many things in this world have been adjudged by him. When holy *David* was abus'd and affronted by *Nabal* the Carmelite, he forbore to reſent the Injury, and had his Cauſe immediately avenged by God. When therefore his Adverſary was dead, and ſmitten by the hand of Heaven, he

1 *Sam.* 25. *v.* 39. ſpoke after this manner, *Bleſſed be the Lord that hath pleaded the Cauſe of my Reproach from the hand of Nabal.* When his Son became his Perſecutor, and turn'd him out of his Kingdom, the Lord as Judge, in a ſhort time, avenged his Cauſe; and not only barely avenged it, but in a much higher degree than he, in whoſe Vindication it was, would have had it; that God might ſhew that the Injuſtice done to the Injur'd and Oppreſſed, is more grievous to Himſelf than to thoſe that bear it. For he who puniſhes beyond the Deſire of the Injur'd Party, ſhews plainly, that ſuch overplus of Correction is in his own Quarrel. His undutiful Son therefore, being ſnapp'd up by the growing Gallows, holy Writ relates the Account then given of this Puniſhment that fell upon him from above,

2 *Sam.* 18. *v.* 31. Thus: *Tidings, my Lord the King: for the Lord hath avenged* (*or judged for*) *thee this day*

day of all them that roſe up againſt thee.

IV. Here you ſee, not only from the nature of Things and Examples, as I ſhewed before; but alſo from the very Name and Term of *Judgment*, how the Scriptures prove by holy Witneſſes, that God do's Judge even in this preſent World. But you think, it may be, this was a ſingular Inſtance, a particular Favour granted to ſo Great and Good a Man, that God by his Judgments ſhould deliver him from his Adverſaries. The whole day would not be ſufficient for me to ſpeak of the Sentences and Judgments paſs'd by God in this preſent World. However, that you may plainly diſcern, that he do's not paſs his Cenſures and Judgment ſo much for the ſake of Perſons, as the Juſtice of their Cauſes; pray mark how the ſame God, as Judge, who ſo conſtantly gave Sentence for *David*, has often in other Caſes given it againſt him: and this not in the Concern of Numbers of People, or which perhaps might ſeem to incline God Almighty, that of holy and good Men, but in the Cauſe of a ſingle Perſon, and he an Alien too, and where in all probability he would not have born ſo hard on ſo great a Man, if his Cauſe had not condemn'd him. Having kill'd *Uriah* the *Hittite*, a Gentile, and a Foreigner, the Word of the Lord comes to *David*; *Thou haſt killed Uriah the Hittite with the Sword, and haſt taken his Wife to be thy Wife, and haſt ſlain him with the Sword of the Children of Ammon. Now therefore the Sword ſhall not depart from thine Houſe.* — 2 Sam. 12. v. 9. v. 10.

Behold

v. 11. *Behold I will raiſe up evil againſt thee out of thine own Houſe, and I will take thy Wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy Neighbour, and he ſhall lye with thy Wives in the ſight of the Sun, in that thou didſt it ſecretly, but I will do this thing before all Iſrael, and before the Sun.* What ſay you to this, you that are ſo far from believing that God do's exerciſe Judgment in this World, that you don't think he minds it at all? Don't you ſee that God's eyes were preſent at this private and ſingle Sin of *David*'s? So that you who, I ſuppoſe, comfort and ſolace your ſelf in your Wickedneſs with the hopes that God do's not at all weigh any of our Actions, do by this find, that Chriſt plainly ſees you, and is ready to pour down Vengeance on your Head: for 'twas not poſſible for *David*, a holy Man, to conceal one ſingle Sin, committed with all the privacy imaginable, nor by the Merit of all the good Works he had ever done, to free himſelf from preſent Puniſhment. For what ſays the Lord to him, *I will take thy Wives before thine eyes, and the Sword ſhall not depart from thine Houſe.* Here you ſee how quick a Sentence is paſs'd on ſo Great a Man for one ſingle Fault; his Condemnation immediately follow'd his Crime, a Condemnation with a Puniſhment not to be deferr'd, but immediately affecting the guilty Perſon, leaving none of the Guilt to be anſwer'd for hereafter. And therefore he did not ſay, becauſe thou haſt done this Thing, thou ſhalt feel God's future Judgment, and ſhalt be

tormented

tormented in Hell-fire hereafter: but thou ſhalt be puniſh'd in this World, and ſhalt immediately feel the Sword of God's Wrath hanging over thy head. And what was the Effect of this? Why, the Criminal acknowledges his Fault, is humbled, ſuffers Compunction, Confeſſes, Mourns, and Repents, throws by his Royal Gemms, puts off his Maſſy Embroider'd Robes, uſes no Purple, lays by his Diadem, changes his Habit and his Heart, caſts off the Crown with all its Gay Attendance, becomes a formal Penitent, and flies for Refuge to a mean Attire, is waſted with Faſting, and dry'd up with Thirſt, is drain'd with Weeping, and ſhut up in Secret. And yet ſo Renowned a Prince as this, greater in Piety than in Power, extraordinary deſerving in all his former Conduct, when he prays and ſues with ſo much Court, yet cannot be forgiven. However he gain'd that mighty Great Advantage from his Repentance, that he was not adjudged to Eternal Puniſhment, altho' he could not eſcape in this World. For after all, thus ſaith the Prophet to him: *Becauſe by this deed thou haſt given great occaſion to the Enemies of the Lord to Bla∫pheme, the Child alſo that is born unto thee ſhall ſurely die.* Beſide the ſevere Penalty inflicted, in taking away the Child, God ſeems ſo to have order'd it, that the fond Father ſhould have the tendereſt Senſe of the Judgment, that the Father himſelf who griev'd, and fear'd the Loſs, ſhould be the very Cauſe of the beloved Infant's Death, and even the Crime that brought

Example of repentance.

The advantage of repentance.

2 *Sam.* 12. *v.* 14.

brought him into the World, the Occaſion of throwing him out of it.

V. This therefore was the firſt ſtep of the Divine Judgment; the firſt, but not the only One, for there follow'd a whole Series of Troubles and Afflictions, and a continued Chain of Misfortunes never after departed from his Family. *Tamar* is raviſh'd by *Amnon*: *Amnon* is murder'd by *Abſalom*: A Grand wickedneſs was committed by one Brother, but yet a greater by the other in Revenge of it: And *David* the Father a Sufferer in both their Crimes; two of his Sons tranſgreſs, and he loſes three Children by the Offence, *Tamar* loſes her Virginity, and in *Amnon*'s Murder, the loſs of *Abſalom* is bemoan'd. And 'tis not eaſie to gueſs which of his two Sons Loſs, the indulgent Father took moſt to heart; whether his who fell by his Brother's hand in this World, or his who periſh'd eternally by his own in the other. And now according to the Word of God, after this there follows a whole heap of extraordinary Misfortunes; the Father is for a long time beſet by his Son, is abdicated and driven out of his Kingdom, and to ſave his Life, ſneaks off like a Fugitive. The Son would puzzle half Mankind to tell whether he were more lewd or cruel; For when he fail'd to kill his Father by baſe Patricide, he throws Dirt upon him by Inceſt, and by ſuch ſort of Inceſt, which beſide the Sin, was induſtriouſly deſign'd to expreſs and exalt the Villany; for that very Wickedneſs, which is moſt abominable, tho' committed with the greateſt

2 *Sam.* 13.

eſt Secrecy, this Perſecutor of his Father acted openly: that not only his abſent Father might be diſhonour'd by the prodigious Sin, but alſo the eyes of the whole City be defiled with his publick Inceſt. If to this we add the manner of his Flight, how hard it was when ſo Great a King, of ſo Great Fame, greater than all his neighbour Kings, and above the World, fled from his own Children and Subjects with ſcarce a Servant to attend him, become now, in compariſon of what he was lately, a Beggar and deſerted; flying in Fear, in Diſgrace, in Sorrow, going (as the Scripture ſays) *with his Head cover'd and bare-foot*: Beſide theſe, driving from himſelf the Thoughts of what he was formerly, living now, as it were, after himſelf, become ſo low (which is grievous to a Prince) as to be liable to the Affronts of his own Servants, or (which is ſtill more grievous) to need their Pity; ſo that *Siba* now might bring him Victuals, nor *Simei* fear to curſe him publickly; being by God's Judgment ſo much alter'd from himſelf, that one ſingle Enemy might openly inſult over him, whom all the neighbouring World before, trembled at.

2 *Sam.* 15. *v.* 30.

2 *Sam.* 16. *v.* 1, & 7.

VI. Where are they now that deny that God regards Humane Affairs? Behold how often the Scriptures have inform'd us in the perſon of this one Man, not only that God do's regard them, but that he do's adjudge them likewiſe. And to what end do's it inculcate all theſe things, but that we might know and underſtand that God's Juſtice and

Judgment in this World will ever be the ſame they have been? And we therefore read that holy and good Men were formerly chaſtis'd by God's Judgment, that we might know that we our ſelves are to be judged by God as Judge, even in this World: For as God is everlaſting, ſo is his Juſtice: As the Lord's Omnipotence will never fail, ſo neither will his Judgment ever change: as God is of right eternal, ſo his Juſtice has no end. And therefore all thoſe who are remarkable for their Piety in the holy Scripture, when they were in any imminent Danger, or cruel Perſecution, always call for God's preſent Judgment: So ſays the juſt Man in the *Pſalm*: *Give Sentence with me, O God, and defend my Cauſe againſt the ungodly People*: which, leſt it might be apply'd to God's future Judgment, he adds, *Deliver me from the deceitful and wicked Man.* He certainly deſires God's preſent Judgment, who prays to be deliver'd from the hands of his Perſecutors: and being conſcious of the goodneſs of his Cauſe, he do's not ſo much pray for the help and aſſiſtance of God, as his Judgment; becauſe the beſt aſſiſtance that can be given to a good Cauſe is, when it is rightly judg'd. So in another place very plainly, *Plead thou my Cauſe, O Lord, with them that ſtrive with me, and fight thou againſt them that fight againſt me; Lay hand upon the ſhield and buckler, and ſtand up to help me.* You ſee likewiſe in this place, there is no provocation to any future Severity or Tryal, but to the Juſtice of the preſent Judgment. For this is all he ſays, Lay hand

Pſal. 43. *v.* 1.

Pſal. 35. *v.* 1. *v.* 2.

hand upon the Shield, and ſeiſe the Sword, the Shield for Protection, and the Sword for Revenge. Not that God in the exerciſe of his Judgment ſtands in need of any ſuch Furniture, but becauſe in this World the names of ſuch frightful Things are the Inſtruments of frightful Judgments, he ſpeaks to a Humane Underſtanding in the Language of Humane things: becauſe he pray'd to be judg'd and aveng'd of his Adverſaries, he expreſs'd the Greatneſs of the Divine Vengeance by Inſtruments of earthly Cruelty. Laſtly, this ſame Prophet does elſewhere declare the difference there is between God's preſent and his future Judgment. For he mentions the exerciſe of a preſent Judgment in theſe words: *Thou ſitteſt upon the Throne who judgeſt righteouſly:* And of the future and eternal Judgment, he ſays, *He ſhall judge the World righteouſly.* And again, *He ſhall judge the People in Truth.* Here he uſes the very Words of the preſent and future time or tenſe, to diſtinguiſh the time of each Judgment. That he might ſhew the preſent Judgment he puts, *Thou judgeſt or thou doeſt judge*; and that he might diſtinguiſh the Future from the Preſent, he adds, *He ſhall or he will judge.* And thus I have ſufficiently prov'd God's Providence, his Government, and Judgment, by Reaſon, Examples, and Teſtimony: Eſpecially ſince the following Diſcourſes tend all to the ſame Purpoſe: Now if it ſhall pleaſe the Great God, whoſe Cauſe I am pleading, to grant me Strength to go thro' with it: I ſhall attempt to produce what the Adverſaries uſe to object againſt it, and at the ſame time Confute them.

Pſal. 9. v. 4.

Pſal. 96. v. 13.

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK III.

The State of the Good much harder than the Bad. Of the juſt Judgments and Councils of God, which are unknown. Of what Faith is. How few or none are faithful towards God. What Murther is. Of what it is to imitate Chriſt. Of Law Suits to be avoided: And how God is to be Obeyed in all things. How few or none Obey Him, as they ought to do. The Errors of the Rich. The Name of Holineſs without Good Manners profiteth nothing.

1. THUS far all is well, the Foundations of the Work are laid, which I have begun with a Pious Deſign, and undertaken purely out of the Love and Duty I owe the Great God; and therefore they are not laid in mouldring Mortar, nor raiſed with fading Stone, but ſtrong as Heavens Expence, and firm as God's own Art and Skill can make them; ſuch as He himſelf ſpeaks of in the Goſpel, which, *neither boiſterous Winds can ſhake, nor Deluges overturn, nor waſhing Rains throw down.* For ſince the Hand, as it were, of the Sacred Volumes, has order'd the Work, and the

Matth. 7. v. 25.

the Cement of the holy Scriptures has join'd it, 'tis of neceſſity that, thro' the Aſſiſtance of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, this ſhould be as laſting as the firm Materials which compoſe the Building: And therefore it gains this Strength from its Originals, and can never be pull'd down ſo long as they are ſafe. For as in earthly Buildings none can throw down the Walls, unleſs he moves the Stones and Mortar, ſo none can ſtir the Building I have raiſed, unleſs he firſt deſtroys that of which it is made and perfected: which being not to be weakned by any means whatever, I may very well preſume upon the Stability of the Building, ſince it's Bottom is laid on immortal Supporters.

The State of the Good much harder than the Bad.

The Queſtion then is, ſince Things are thus, if all things in this World are order'd by the Care, Government, and Judgment of God, How comes the Condition of (a) Barbarians and Aliens to be much better than ours? And why among our ſelves is the State of the Good much harder than that of the Bad? Why are the Righteous caſt down, and the Wicked luſty and ſtrong? Why do's all the World ſubmit to wicked Men, and chiefly wicked Powers? I could with Reaſon and Conſiſtency anſwer, that I know not the Secrets of God, and am altogether a ſtranger to his Counſels: The Words of Scripture are ſufficient Proof to me of this Reaſon. God himſelf ſays, as I have prov'd in the foregoing Books, that he does both Behold, Govern, and Judge all things.

(a) Vandals, Huns Franks, Goths, &c. *who then over-ran the Roman Empire.*

Of the juſt judgments and Councils of God, which are unknown.

If you would know what you are to hold to, you

have the holy Scriptures: 'tis the Perfection of Reaſon to ſtick to what you read there. But I deſire you would not ask me for what Reaſon God does the Things we are ſpeaking of. I am but a meer Man, I do not underſtand the Secrets of God Almighty, I dare not pry into them, and therefore dread to attempt it; becauſe I take it to be no leſs than a Sacrilegious Raſhneſs to endeavour to know more of thoſe Matters than you are permitted to do. It ought to ſatisfie you that God has declared, that all things are diſpos'd and order'd by himſelf. Why do you ask me why one is Great, another Mean, why one is Miſerable, another Happy, one Strong, another Weak? What the Cauſe is, why God orders Things thus, I do not underſtand, but it is inſtead of a thouſand Reaſons to me, that I can ſhew that all this is order'd by God himſelf. For as God is infinitely above all Humane Reaſon, ſo it is to me more than all the Reaſons in the World, that I know that God does it. So that in this Matter there is no need of producing any thing new; for when we ſay that God is the Author, 'tis as ſufficient as a Million of Reaſons. Neither ſhould we in theſe Caſes, which depend on God's Will, take the Liberty of Saying, that this is Juſt, and that is unjuſt, becauſe whatſoever you ſee, and are convinc'd of to be done by God, you ought of neceſſity to confeſs to be the higheſt Juſtice. Now all this might be quickly and with ſtrength of Reaſon ſaid concerning God's Government and Judgment. For 'tis not at all neceſſary that

I ſhould offer to prove that by Arguments, which is more than prov'd, ſince God has been pleas'd to declare that it is ſo. And therefore, when we read, that God has ſaid, that he does always behold the Earth, for that very Reaſon we prove that he does behold it, ſince He himſelf has told us, that he does ſo. So when we read, that he rules all things that he has made, we are from thence certain that he does rule them, becauſe he teſtifies that he does ſo. Thus, when we read that he diſpenſeth all things by a preſent Judgment, 'tis manifeſt and plain to us, that he does exerciſe ſuch Judgment, becauſe we have his Affirmation for it. All other, to wit, Humane Aſſertions ſtand in need of Reaſons and Witneſſes to ſupport them: But God's Word is its own witneſs; For whatſoever is ſpoken by perfect Truth it ſelf, muſt of neceſſity be a moſt perfect Teſtimony of Truth. However, notwithſtanding all this, ſince God has been pleas'd by the holy Scriptures, to give us a Knowledge, as it were, of the Secrets of his own Mind, for the Oracles of ſacred Scripture are in ſome Senſe the Mind of God, I ſhall not conceal whatſoever God has thought fit ſhould be either known or declared by his Servants: only one thing I deſire to know before I begin, whether I am to argue with Chriſtians, or with Pagans: If it be with Chriſtians, I do not at all doubt but I ſhall prove my Point; but if with Pagans, I ſcorn to offer at it, not that I want ſufficient Arguments, but that I have no hopes they will

ever the better for what I ſay. For pains and labour are thrown away upon an obſtinate Hearer that will never be convinc'd. However, ſince I believe there is no one who goes under the Name of a Chriſtian, who would not willingly be thought one, I will deal with him as with a Chriſtian: And altho' any one ſhould be tainted with impious and paganiſh Infidelity, 'tis enough for me, if what I offer, be approv'd of by the Chriſtian.

II. Your Objection then is, how come we Chriſtians who believe in God to be more miſerable than other Men? I could give a ſufficient Anſwer to your Queſtion, from the Words the Apoſtle uſes to the Churches: *That no man ſhould be moved by affliction, for your ſelves know that we are appointed thereunto.* And therefore ſeeing the Apoſtle tells, that we are call'd by God that we ſhould endure Afflictions, Miſery and Diſtreſs; what wonder is it, that we ſuffer all manner of Evil, ſince it is the greateſt part of our Warfare to do ſo? But there are very few who will reliſh this Doctrine, but rather think, that as the Chriſtians are more religious than other Sects, ſo they ought to receive at the hand of God, as a Reward of their Faith, that they ſhould be more Powerful than other Men: For the preſent let us aquieſce in this Opinion and Judgment: And let us conſider what it is to believe in God Faithfully. For we who would have the Reward of our Faith in this World to be ſo very Ample, ought at leaſt to beſtow ſome Thoughts what

1 *Theſ.* 3. v. 3.

of what Faith is.

what Sort of Believing or Faith this ought to be. What then is Faith or the Act of Believing? I take it to be that a Man faithfully believe in Christ, that is, that he be faithful to God, and sincerely keep his Commandments. For as the Servants and Stewards of Great Men, who are entrusted with all their Master's Goods and Stores, can never be esteem'd faithful if they squander what was committed to their Care; so are Christian Men unfaithful if they spoil the Goods assign'd them by their God. But you ask me, it may be, what those Goods are that God has put in a Christian's Trust? What can they be but all those things by which we gain our Belief; that is, those very Things by which we are Christians? As first the Law, then the Prophets, thirdly the Gospels, fourthly the Apostolical Writings, and lastly the Gift of Regeneration, the Grace of holy Baptism, and the (b) Unction of sacred Chrism: For as formerly among the *Jews*, God's own People, when, after the Judges, the Government became Regal, God used to advance some particular chosen Persons to the Throne by the Ceremony of Anointing; so all Christians, when, after the (c) Ecclesiastical Anointing, they have perform'd all God's Commandments, should be advanced to the Kingdom of Heaven, there to receive the Reward of all their Labours. Seeing then these are the Things by which our Faith is manifested, let us see who it is that so keeps these sacred Treasures of his Faith, that he may be call'd truly faithful;

(b) Confirmation; *so call'd by the Fathers from the Anointing at that time used in it. Thus the* Doctrine of Baptism, and Laying on of Hands are join'd.

Heb. 6. v. 2.

(c) *After Confirmation.*

ful; For, as I ſaid before, he who do's not keep what is committed to his Truſt, is unfaithful. And truly, I do not enquire whether he perform all things commanded in the Old and New Teſtaments; I will paſs by the Puniſhments of the Old Law, all the Threatnings of the Prophets; and, which yet cannot be altogether paſs'd by, the ſeverer Diſcipline Part of the Apoſtles Books, and the Goſpel Doctrines of Perfection: I only deſire to know who it is obeys, even a very few of God's Commandments; neither do I mean thoſe which many deny ſo far, as even to deteſt them: For ſuch is the Reſpect and Honour we now a-days pay to God, that what parts of Devotion we think not fit to practiſe our ſelves, we hate to ſee in others. For who can now endure to hear that Saying of our Saviour, which bids us *take no thought for the Morrow?* Who takes notice of that which bids us be content with *only one Coat?* Who regards the Advice of going bare-foot, or indeed, who is there cares to hear it? And therefore I paſs by all theſe. For the Faith in which we have all our Confidence fails in this, that we eſteem thoſe Precepts needleſs and ſuperfluous, which God has ordered as Neceſſary to Salvation. Our Saviour ſays, *Love your Enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you, and perſecute you.* Where is there any one does all this, nay who is there who will vouchſafe, not to pray, but even to ſay ſo much for his Enemies as God commands us here? If any one go ſo far as to force himſelf

How few or none are faithful towards God.

Matth. 6. *v.* 34.

Matth. 10.

Matth. 5. *v.* 44. *Luk.* 6. *v.* 27.

ſelf to do it; 'tis only Lip-labour, the Mind knows nothing of it: the Words, it may be, are pronounced, the Paſſions ſtill remain; and if the Enemy be nam'd againſt the Grain at Prayer, the Party only ſpeaks but never prays. 'Twill be tedious to mention all, however, I will add ſomewhat more, that we may ſee that we do not only not obey all God's Precepts, but that we perform very few or none of them. And therefore the Apoſtle cries, *If any man think himſelf to be ſomething when he is nothing, he deceiveth himſelf.* Gal. 6. v. 3. For this we make an addition to all our Crimes, that we take our ſelves to be Righteous and very Saints, tho' we offend in every thing, and ſo we go on heaping Iniquity upon Iniquity, upon this Preſumption of our Righteouſneſs. The Apoſtle ſays, *Whoſoever hateth his Brother is a Murderer.* From hence we may conclude there are many Murderers, who take themſelves to be very Innocent, becauſe we find here that Murder may be committed as well in the Hater's Heart as by his Hand: which made our Saviour enforce that Commandment with a greater Penalty, when he ſaid, *Whoſoever is angry with his Brother without a Cauſe, ſhall be in danger of the Judgment.* Anger is the Mother of Hatred, and therefore our Saviour in this place excludes Anger, leſt it ſhould produce Hatred. If therefore not only Hatred, but even Anger makes us in Danger of the Judgment, we plainly perceive that, as no one is altogether free from Anger and Paſſion, ſo no one is altogether

What Murder is. 1 John. 3. v. 15.

Matth. 5. v. 22.

ther free from Guilt. But our Lord proſecutes, as it were, the very Fibres of this Precept, and cuts each Bough and Branch of it. Says he, *Whoſoever ſhall ſay, thou Fool, ſhall be in danger of Hellfire: whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his Brother, Racha, ſhall be in danger of the Councel.* There are many who do not know what ſort of Abuſe is contain'd under the Word *Racha*, who yet are very ſenſible of the Affront they receive when they are call'd *Fools*: And therefore in this Caſe, Men making uſe of their Knowledge rather than their Ignorance, had rather that their Guilt for the Abuſe they do know, ſhould be expiated by Hellfire, than by the Councel of Man, for that they do not know.

What it is to imitate Chriſt.

III. Seeing then that Matters are thus, and that what is commanded by God is not only not done by us, but rather the quite contrary, When ſhall we perform thoſe greater Duties? For our Saviour ſaith, *Whoſoever he be of you that forſaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Diſciple. And he who does not bear his Croſs and follow me, is not worthy of me.* And that he who profeſſes himſelf to be a Chriſtian, *ought himſelf alſo to walk even as Chriſt walked.* All which, 'tis certain, that neither they who follow the Pomps and Pleaſures of this World, nor they who have diſclaim'd all Title to them do fulfil as they ought. For even they who ſeem to renounce all Riches, do not renounce them ſo far as wholly to have abandon'd them. And they who are thought to bear the Croſs, do ſo bear it, that under pretence of that they

Luk. 14. *v.* 33.

1 *Joh* 2. *v.* 6.

gain

gain much more Honour, than they do of Inconvenience by the ſuffering for it. And yet all of theſe, altho' they did in reality perform ſomewhat of this, yet doubtleſs none of them could carry it ſo high by that way of Living, that they could go as upright as our Saviour went. For the Apoſtle ſays, *He that ſaith he abideth in Chriſt, ought himſelf alſo to walk even as he walked.*

IV. But perhaps ſome will be apt to think that the Apoſtle's Commands are ſevere. Truly they might well be reckon'd ſuch, if they demanded greater Strictneſs of Duty than they perform'd themſelves. But if it does appear that they commanded others much leſs than they did themſelves, they will ſhew themſelves to have been not only not hard Maſters, but to be eſteem'd as moſt indulgent Parents, who, out of real Zeal to Religion, laid thoſe very Burdens on their own Shoulders, which, out of Tenderneſs to their Children they took off from their Backs. For thus ſays one of them to a Congregation of Chriſtians; *My little Children of whom I travail in Birth again, until Chriſt be form'd in you.* And again, *Be ye followers of me, even as I alſo am of Chriſt.* He only lays this upon us, that we ſhould be Followers of him, who had impos'd it upon himſelf to be a Follower of Chriſt. And that he did really follow Chriſt, no one can doubt: Chriſt for our ſakes ſubjected himſelf to the World, and he himſelf for Chriſt's: Chriſt for our ſakes underwent Wearineſs and Pains, he did the ſame for Chriſt's: Chriſt ſuffered

Galat. 4. *v.* 19.

1 *Cor.* 11. *v.* 1.

Scorn

Scorn and Reproof for us, and he for Chriſt. Chriſt bore his Paſſion and his Death for us, he did the ſame for Chriſt. And therefore, being conſcious of his own good Actions and Deſerts, he had Reaſon to ſay, *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſh'd my courſe; I have kept the Faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteouſneſs.* Seeing then he follow'd Chriſt thus, let us ſee who it is that follows our Apoſtle. For thus in the firſt place he writes of himſelf: *That he never gave Offence to any, but in all things approved himſelf as the Miniſter of God in much Patience, in Afflictions, in Neceſſities, in Stripes, in Impriſonments, in Tumults.* And in another place, comparing himſelf to ſome others, he ſays; *Whereinſoever any is bold, I ſpeak fooliſhly, I am bold alſo; — I ſpeak as a Fool I am more; in Labours more abundant, in Priſons more frequent, in Stripes above meaſure, in Deaths oft: Of the Jews five times receiv'd, I forty ſtripes ſave one; thrice was I beaten with Rods, once was I ſtoned, thrice I ſuffer'd ſhipwrack.* Altho', it may be, we make little account of all the reſt of the Apoſtles Excellencies here ſet down, I doubt not but in that One, in which he ſays, he thrice ſuffer'd Shipwrack, we ſhall be found to be before him; for we have not ſuffer'd Shipwrack only thrice, but almoſt every Act of our Life is a kind of Shipwrack: for ſo much as we all live ſo wickedly, that there is ſcarce a Chriſtian, who do's not ſeem always to be ſhipwrack'd.

2 *Tim.* 4. v. 7, 8.

2 *Cor.* 6. v. 3, 4, 5.

2 *Cor.* 11. v. 21.

v. 23.

24, 25.

V. But

V. But ſome one may urge here, that the Times are quite alter'd, it is not expected now that we ſhould undergo for Chriſt's ſake what the Apoſtles then ſuffer'd. That's very true: For the Governours are not now Pagan, nor perſecuting Tyrants; the Blood of the Saints is not now powr'd forth, nor is our Faith try'd by Torture. Our God is content that our Eaſe and Quiet ſhould tend to his Service, that we ſhould make our ſelves acceptable now by the Purity and Innocence of our Actions, and by the unſpotted holineſs of our Lives. Our Faith and Devotion are ſo much the more indebted to him, by how much he has given us greater Bleſſings, and requires leſs Service. And therefore ſince Princes are now become Chriſtian, and there is no ſuch thing as Perſecution, and that Religion is not diſturb'd, we, who are not compell'd by more ſevere Tryals, ought at leaſt to pleaſe God by all manner of leſſer Duties. And 'tis odds, but that he, who readily diſcharges theſe leſſer Duties, would chearfully perform the greater, when call'd upon.

VI. We will therefore at preſent, paſs over the Sufferings of St. *Paul*, and all the other Severities which we find in Eccleſiaſtical Story, almoſt all the Chriſtians of thoſe Times endur'd, who aſcended to Heavens Gates by the Staircaſe of their own Torments, and made Scaling Ladders of their Racks and Scaffolds. Let us ſee if in thoſe Services of Religion, which being leſs and more common, all we Chriſtians may at all times, in the greateſt Security

curity perform, we do endeavour to anſwer our Lord's Commands. Chriſt commands us that we ſhould not be litigious, but who obeys him? Nay, he does not only command it, but he preſſes it ſo far, that he orders us to quit our Pretenſions to whatſoever is the Subject of the Conteſt, that ſo we may be freed from the Suit. *If any man* (ſays he) *will ſue thee at the Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak alſo.* I deſire to know, were there are any ſuch to be found, who will comply thus with an oppreſſing Adverſary, or rather, who they are who would not, were it in their Power, oppreſs their Adverſary themſelves? So far are we from quitting our other Garments with our Coats, that, if by any means we could tell how, we would take away our Adverſary's Coat and Cloak alſo. For we obey the Commands of our Lord ſo very religiouſly, that it is not enough for us, not to part with the leaſt part of our Garments to our Adverſaries, unleſs to the utmoſt of our Power, if we have opportunity, we tear All from him. To this our Lord has joyn'd another like and parallel Command: *Whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on the right Cheek, turn to him the Other alſo.* How many do we think that do with Decency afford an Ear to this Command, or if they ſeem to do it; that do in heart believe it? Or how many rather, if they receive one Stroke, but will return an Hundred? So far are we from turning our Cheek to him that ſmites us, that then we think we get the better, not when we have maſter'd our adverſary by his beating

Of Law-Suits to be avoided: and how God is to be obeyedin all things.

Matth. 5. v. 40.

v. 39.

How few or none O-bey as they ought to do

beating us, but by our mawling him. *Whatsoever ye would* (says our Saviour) *that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.* Matth. 7. v. 12. We are so well acquainted with one part of this Sentence, that we never pass it over; but the other we take as little Notice of, as if we knew nothing of it: For we know very well how we would have other Men deal by us, but are as ignorant as may be of our Duty to other Men. And I would to God we were really ignorant, for then our Guilt would be much the less, according to that Scripture; *He that knew not his Master's will shall be beaten with few Stripes; but he that knew and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.* Luk. 12. v. 47. v. 48. However, this is a great Aggravation of the Offence, that we should pick and chuse one part of a Sentence of Scripture that makes for our Advantage, and neglect the other part in contempt of the Almighty. St. *Paul* does likewise by his Preaching, enforce this Command of God; *Let no man seek his own, but every man another's Wealth.* 1 Cor. 10. v. 24. And again, *Look not every man on his own Things, but every man also on the Things of others.* Philip. 2. v. 4. You see here how sincerely he executed this Command of Christ; for whereas our Saviour commands us to be as solicitous for other Men's Welfare as our own, he advises us to take more Care of other's Conveniences than our own, like the good Servant of a good Lord, and the excellent follower of so admirable a Master, who treading in the very footsteps of his Lord, has, in some sort, made

those Footsteps of his Master more plain and open. Which of the Two now do we Christians perform, what Christ commands, or what his Apostle? Truly, I think neither. For so far are we from doing any thing to forward the Convenience of other Men with some Loss to our selves; that all of us bend all our Thoughts how to advantage our selves as much as may be at the Expence of other Men.

VII. But, it may be, it will be said in this place, that I have pick'd out some of the most difficult of God's Commands, which no body fulfils; and, as they think, which 'tis not possible that any body should, and that I have omitted others which they could observe, and which are easie to be observ'd by every body. Pray let this be consider'd in the first place, that it is not fitting for any Servant whatever of his own Head, to pick and chuse out of his Master's Orders, what he likes, and what he dislikes, and then insolently to take what pleases him, and to refuse what he do's not like: Especially when the Masters of this World don't think it a thing fit to be born with, that any Servants of theirs should obey part of their Commands, and slight the rest; and according to their Humours, shall do, forsooth, what they think fitting to be done, and shall spurn the rest. For if Servants obey their Masters only so far as pleases themselves, there is no Duty paid to the Master by such Obedience: For when a Servant only performs that part of his Master's Commands which he has a mind to, he do's not fulfil his

his Master's Pleasure but his own. If therefore we who are poor, silly, weak, contemptible Mortals, cannot bear to be thus slighted by our own Servants, whom only the Condition of Service makes inferior to us; since they are made of the same Mould with our selves: how unjustly do we despise the Great God of Heaven, who being but meer Men, think it not fit to be despised by Creatures of our own Condition! Unless, it may be, we are Men of that depth of Thought and Design, that, tho' we think it not convenient to take Affronts at our Servant's hands, yet we should be very willing to have the Almighty subject to all the Abuses that may be; and those very Things which we think not fit to be tolerated by our selves, we judge very fitting that God should bear from us. But to return; If there be any by this time, who think I have been speaking all this while of the harder Commandments of God, and have said nothing of the more easie ones, their Complaint is an idle one. To what purpose is it to talk of a Preference in Duties, where all are equally to be observ'd? For, as I said before, as it is not at all fitting for the Servants of the meanest Mortal to choose out of their Master's Orders what they would have done, and what left undone; so we who are the Servants of our Lord, ought to think it absolutely unlawful to take only those Commands at our own good liking, which please us, and to tread under feet with Pride and Insolence what we do not relish.

VIII. However, let us ſubmit to thoſe, who, it may be, will not have us therefore mention the greater of our Lord's Commands, becauſe they fancy they fulfil the leſſer: not that it is ſufficient to Salvation to obſerve the Smaller and neglect the Greater, according to that of the Apoſtle; *Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one Point he is guilty of all:* And altho' it appears by this, that it is not ſufficient for us to perform the leſſer Commands of God, yet I agree to call them leſſer Commands, that I may ſhew that the greateſt part of Chriſtians do not obſerve, even thoſe which are the leaſt part of their Duty. Our Saviour commands that Chriſtian Men *ſhould not Swear:* But you ſhall find more of thoſe who forſwear themſelves, than of thoſe who do not ſwear at all. He commands likewiſe, that no body ſhould Curſe, and yet our common Talk is made up of Curſes. The firſt Dart we throw in Paſſion are Curſes, and what we are too weak to execute, we give our Paſſions leave to Wiſh: And thus in every diſcompoſure of our Minds, we uſe theſe Imprecations inſtead of Arms. So that every one plainly ſhews, that were it in his Power, he would do all the Miſchief which he wiſhes to his Adverſary. And becauſe all of us who do not obey the Divine Commands, eaſily get a Habit of this wicked way of Speaking, we are therefore apt to think that it will as eaſily take place with God who gave us thoſe Commands: But the Scripture ſays: *Revilers and Evil-ſpeakers ſhall*

James 2. v. 10.

Matth. 5. v. 34.

not

not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven: And hence we may perceive how heinous and deſtructive this ſort of Evil-ſpeaking is, ſeeing, although we do many other good Actions, yet this alone will ſhut us out of Heaven. Chriſt commands us to forbear all Malice, and yet we envy not only Strangers but our very Neighbours: 'Tis not our Enemies alone we hate maliciouſly, but our very Friends; ſo much is this Evil riveted in all our Natures: our Hunger may be ſatisfied, but this detracting Humour never can: We are always cloy'd with Meat, but never with Detraction. But, it may be, this is a Peccadillo not worth God's Notice: However the holy Scripture ſays, *The Backbiter ſhall be rooted out*: A heavy and dreadful Sentence, and yet it cauſes no Amendment; for ſo long as one Man ſtill perſiſts to tear another, 'tis ſo great Pleaſure to him, that he do's even ſacrifice himſelf; and a juſt Return it is of ſuch a Miſchief, that it perſecutes its Author only, for in compariſon it hurts him not at all at whom 'tis levell'd, but racks and tears the Heart of him who vends it. But perhaps they'll think I doat in urging things thus, and I, for my part, can be content to be accounted a Doatard; but did our Bleſſed Lord himſelf doat, when he gave Commandment by his Apoſtle, *That all Clamour and Evil-ſpeaking be put away with all Malice*. Both theſe lodge with us perpetually, and yet I think we have more of Malice than of Clamour. For Clamour is not always in our Mouths, but Malice always in our Hearts;

Epheſ. 5. *v.* 5. 1 *Cor.* 6. *v.* 10.

Rom. 1. *v.* 30.

Epheſ. 4. *v.* 31.

and for that Reaſon, I believe, that when the Power of Clamouring has left us, yet Malice will remain. Our Lord has likewiſe commanded us to be without Murmuring and Complaining; But when were Mankind ever without them? If it be parching Heat, we complain of Drought; if a rainy Seaſon, then of Drowning: If the Year chance not to be over fruitful, then we accuſe its Barrenneſs, if it be plentiful, then the Cheapneſs of Things diſguſts us: We deſire to get Abundance, and when we have it, then we blame it. What can be more wicked and reproachful than ſuch Dealing? To fall out with God's Mercy, becauſe he ſends us what we pray'd for. God hath commanded his Servants to avoid all manner of Offence, even that of the Eyes: And therefore he ſays, *Whoſoever looketh on a Woman to luſt after her, hath committed Adultery with her in his Heart.* By this we may plainly underſtand how chaſte our Saviour would have us be, who hath deny'd us the Liberty of a looſe wandring Look: For, knowing that the Lights of the Eyes are a ſort of Windows to our Hearts, and that all wicked Deſires enter us thro' the Eyes as thro' the natural paſſage; he would altogether extinguiſh them whilſt without us, leſt when they are entred, they ſhould take firm Root in our Hearts, having firſt budded at the Eye: And therefore our Lord warns us, that the Laſcivious Looks of lewd Men are not free from the Guilt of Adultery; ſo that they who would ſincerely guard themſelves from that Sin, ſhould

Phil. 2. v. 14.

Matth. 5. 28.

put

put a watch upon their Looks. Our Saviour would likewiſe have all his Followers to have unſpotted Holineſs, and therefore commands them to avoid the leaſt thing that has but a Tendency to Sin: That a Chriſtian's Life ſhould be as clean as the cleareſt part of the brighteſt Eye; and as the Eye without Injury to the Sight, cannot endure the ſmalleſt Duſt within it, ſo a Chriſtian's Life ſhould not have the moſt dimunitive Spot of Uncleanneſs in it. And that is the Meaning of this following Saying of our Lord's: *If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and if thine hand offend thee, cut it off: It is better for thee that one of thy Members ſhould periſh, than that thy whole Body ſhould be caſt into Hell.* If then, according to God's Word, Offences will draw us into Hell, we had better part with our Eyes and Hands than carry both thither; not that any one ought to deprive himſelf of his Limbs, but there are ſome Domeſtick Offices and Services, which have ſo near a Relation to us, and are become ſo neceſſary, that we uſe them ſometimes as our Eyes, ſometimes as our Hands, and therefore we ſhould do well to deny ourſelves the Satisfaction of ſuch preſent Aſſiſtants, leſt hereafter we be tormented with Eternal Fire: For when the Diſpute is between a Man's Convenience and his Life, I think a Chriſtian had much better ſpare a preſent Convenience than hazard Life everlaſting.

Matth. 5. *v.* 29. *Mark* 5. *v.* 47.

IX. Seeing then our Lord has requir'd Obedience in all theſe Particulars which I have nam'd: Where are they to be found, who

have perform'd them all, or even the ſmalleſt Part? Where are they who either love their Enemies, or do good to their Perſecutors, or that overcome Evil with Good; who turn their Cheek to him that ſmites them, or that yield up their Goods without Diſpute to them that take them? Who is there that avoids all baſe Detraction, who injures no one by baſe Words, who rather hold their Tongues, than break forth into bitter Railings? Who is there minds theſe leſſer Duties, not to mention now the Greater ſpoken of before? Since then Matters are thus, and that we obey none of our Lord's Commands, what Reaſon have we to complain of God, when he ought rather to complain of us? Why ſhould we repine that God do's not hear us, when we our ſelves refuſe to hear Him, and whiſper abroad that God do's not at all look upon the World, when we refuſe to look up to Heaven? Why ſhould it trouble us that our Lord deſpiſes our Prayers, when we take care to deſpiſe his Precepts? Suppoſe we were upon the Level with our Lord: What room could there be for Complaint, if he deals by us as we uſe Him? Which yet I could prove to be quite otherwiſe, and that God deals more tenderly by us, than we do dutifully by Him. But to go on with the Parallel I began: And as our Lord ſays,

Prov. 1. *Mich.* 3. Pſal. 17. *I have called to you and you have not heard me, and you ſhall cry to me and I will not hear you.*

What can be more juſt and equitable? We don't hear, and therefore are not heard: We do not regard him, and therefore are not regarded

garded by Him. I desire to know where that mortal Master is, who would be content to manage Matters at this rate with his Servants, that in Return for Contempt receiv'd from his own Vassals, he should only have the Pleasure of slighting them again? But we do not only affront and contemn our God as Servants do their worldly Masters, whose greatest Slight is not to do what they are order'd: For we not only do not what we are order'd, but with all our Might and Main the clean contrary. Thus God commands us to love one another; but we tear and hawl each other to pieces. God commands all to distribute their own Goods to those that want them, and All invade the Properties of other Men. God commands that every Christian should have chaste Eyes; but how few are there who do not wallow in the Filth of Fornication! But to what purpose should I produce more? What I am now going to say is sad and lamentable: The Church of God it self, which at all times should be the Appeaser and Peace-Maker, is now become the Grand Provoker and Exasperator of God; For, bating a very few who have escaped the Contagion, what is every Congregation of Christians but a Common-shore of Vices? For who will you find in the Church that is not either a Drunkard, or a Glutton, Adulterer or Fornicator, Extortioner or Rioter, a Thief or Murderer? And what is worse than all this, there is no end of them. For I appeal to the Conscience of every Christian; of all the Villainies and Wick-

Wickedneſſes I have nam'd, where is the Man that is not guilty of ſome, or rather of all of them? 'Tis eaſier to find one thro'-pac'd in all, than one who has nothing of them. But ſome perhaps may think the Cenſure here too hard, becauſe I ſay, *who has nothing*; And therefore I had much rather ſay, you may ſooner find them guilty of all theſe Crimes, than not of all; eaſier of the greater Sins, than of the leſs: That is, you'll eaſier find ſuch who would commit the greater Crimes together with the leſs, than ſuch as would act the leſſer ones without the greater. Our Congregations are fallen into ſuch a Degeneracy and Baſeneſs of Manners, that among Chriſtian People now, 'tis a piece of Religion and Sanctity to be leſs wicked than their Neighbours. So that ſome have leſs Reſpect for the Churches, or rather Temples and Altars of the moſt High God, than they have for the Houſe of ſome Petty Corporation-Magiſtrate. For tho' all Perſons don't preſume to crowd promiſcuouſly into the Gates of Princes, nor even of the Chief Governours or Officers, unleſs invited or cited by them as Judges, or to ſolicite Buſineſs, or elſe whoſe Station and Poſt do's permit it; ſo that if any enter inſolently, he's either beaten or driven back, is laugh'd at and expos'd, or has ſome other Mark of Diſreſpect put upon him: yet into the Temples, or rather the Altars and Sacred Places of our God, the moſt Sordid and Flagitious, ruſh on Heaps, without Reſpect or Reverence; not that they ought not

to

to haſte thither to pray to God; but he that enters with the Deſign to endeavour to Appeaſe Almighty God, ought to be careful not to exaſperate him at going out: For they are quite two Things, to ask Forgiveneſs, and to provoke to Wrath. But is it not monſtrous and prodigious, that Men ſhould every hour commit the Things, the doing of which they every hour lament? They who enter the Church to Bemoan their former Sins depart, what do I ſay, depart; nay even in the midſt of all their Prayers and Supplications, contrive to act the ſame! The Mouth ſays one thing and the Heart another; and whilſt in Word they Moan their paſt Tranſgreſſions, their Thoughts are ruminating upon new; ſo that their Prayer do's rather encreaſe their Guilt than prevail for Pardon; ſo that the Scripture-Curſe is verified in them, that their own Words condemn them, and *that their Prayers are turned into Sin.* Laſtly, if any one would know what theſe Men think of in the Church, let him obſerve what follows. As ſoon as e're the Publick Service ends, every one haſtens to follow his old Trade; ſome to Steal, ſome to be Drunk; ſome to Whoreing, and ſome to the High-pad: ſo that 'tis plain they thought on Theſe the time they ſpent in Church, in order to their after Execution. Pſal. 109. v. 6.

X. But ſome may think that all this Wickedneſs, this whole Catalogue of baſe enormous Crimes I have mention'd, are only deeds of Slaves and Men of deſperate Fortunes, *The Errors of the Rich.*

but

but nothing that bears the Face of a Gentleman can ever be ſo wicked? Pray what is the Merchant's Life but Periury and Cheat? The Courtiers but Iniquity? The Lawyers Calumny, and the Soldiers Plunder? But perhaps you think theſe Things are tolerable in ſuch Men as theſe: their Actions, you'll ſay, are ſuitable to their Profeſſion, ſo that it is no Wonder to ſee them act according to what they profeſs. As if God Almighty were willing that Men ſhould either act or profeſs Wickedneſs; or that the Divine Majeſty were not at all offended, when ordinary Perſons commit the greateſt Sin; eſpecially conſidering, that upon a Poll they are far the greater Part of all Mankind: and certainly where there is the greateſt Multitude of Sinners, there Heaven is moſt offended. But perhaps, you'll ſay, all the Nobility are free from ſuch Wickedneſs. That cannot be; for Nobility all over the World is nothing elſe but one Great Man above a great many mean Ones. However, let us ſee whether they are Faultleſs or no! And in the firſt place, let us conſider what the Scripture ſays of Men of this Rank. The Apoſtle reaſoning with ſome of God's People, ſays thus: *Hearken, my Beloved Brethren, hath not God choſen the Poor of this World rich in Faith, and Heirs of the Kingdom, which he hath promiſed to them that love him? But ye have deſpiſed the Poor; do not rich men oppreſs you, do not they blaſpheme that Worthy Name, by the which ye are call'd?* This is a heavy Teſtimony of the Apoſtles: unleſs

James 2. *v.* 5. *v.* 6. *v.* 7.

unleſs it may be, Noblemen may think themſelves not concern'd in it, becauſe the *Rich* are only nam'd in it. However either the rich Men here nam'd are the ſame as Noblemen, or if there be any very Rich who are not Noble, 'tis as good as if they were ennobled; for ſuch is the Baſeneſs of this Age, that no body is eſteem'd ſo Noble as they who are very rich. But whether the Apoſtle ſpeaks of either or both, may be eaſily compounded; for it matters not which part is here chiefly meant, ſince what is ſaid agrees very well to either. For where is there ſo much as one Nobleman or Rich man, who abhors theſe Crimes? And yet in this I may be miſtaken: for there are many abhor them, but few avoid them: They abhor in others what they embrace themſelves, being after a Wonderful manner, both Accuſers and Advocates of the ſame Crimes. In publick they deteſt what they act in ſecret: and ſo by ſuch Practice, while they think they condemn others, they rather involve themſelves in their own Sentence. But let us leave thoſe who are moſt guilty: and ſee if we can find that Rich or Noble perſon who is really innocent, or withholds his Hands from all manner of Wickedneſs; tho' I think I have added thoſe words *all manner of* very impertinently: I wiſh there be any who abſtain from the greateſt; becauſe it may be Great Perſons take it as a part of their Priviledge, that they may commit the leſſer Crimes, and therefore I ſhall ſay nothing of the leſſer Sins. But let us ſee

if

if any of them are free from thoſe two Capital ones of Murder and Whoredom: Which of them does not reek in Humane Blood, and wallow in filthy Lewdneſs? One of theſe is enough to merit everlaſting Pain, and yet there is ſcarce a Man of Power but has committed both.

The Name of Holineſs without good Manners, profiteth nothing.

XI. But ſome one of this Number, it may be, thinks with himſelf: I don't do any ſuch things as theſe now. I commend you for not doing them, but it may be you have formerly done them; and to leave off doing them is not altogether equivalent to the never having done them. But ſuppoſe it be ſo, where's the Advantage by it, that one Man leaves off to ſin, and Many continue in it? One Man's Repentance will not heal the Crimes of Many others; nor is it ſufficient to appeaſe God's Wrath, that one forſakes his Sins, ſince All in general have offended Him: Eſpecially, when he who is converted, that he may eſcape Erernal Death, will receive great Advantage by ſuch Converſion, if he do eſcape it; but yet it ne're can come to paſs that he ſhould free others from the Pains of Damnation: becauſe it would be the moſt intolerable Pride, and a Crime of a Monſtrous Complexion, if any one ſhould take himſelf to be ſo Good, as to think that wicked Men thro' him might be ſaved. God ſpeaking of a wicked Land and People, ſays thus; *Though theſe three Men were in it, Noah, Daniel, and Job; they ſhall deliver neither Sons nor Daughters, but they only ſhall be deliver'd themſelves.* I ſuppoſe no

Ezek. 14. v. 18.

body

body has Impudence enough to compare himſelf to ſuch Great Men as theſe: And altho' a Man at preſent endeavours to pleaſe God, yet it is a kind of the greateſt Injuſtice, if he preſumes upon his own Righteouſneſs; and by this is taken away all hopes of that falſe Opinion by which we believe that a Multitude of wicked Men may be defended from all preſent Evils by the Prayers of a few good ones. For ſeeing that no one can pretend to equal thoſe I have nam'd above, what hope can any have, that Men that are foreigners, many in Number, and very Wicked, ſhould be deliver'd by the Prayers of a very few good Ones: when thoſe holy Men, ſo familiar with God Himſelf, could not obtain this of our Lord, that in their Children they might ſave their own Fleſh and Blood: and Juſtly: For, altho' all Children in General may ſeem to be Parts and Members of their Parents, yet theſe are not to be eſteem'd Parts of them, who have ſever'd themſelves from them by contrary Affections, and in ſuch the Benefit of Nature and Relation is loſt by the Degeneracy of their Manners. And by the ſame Reaſon it is, that we, who call our ſelves Chriſtians, loſe all the Benefit of ſo Great a Name by the Naughtineſs of our Converſations. It does not all advantage us to have a holy Name without good Manners; for a Life diſagreeable to the Profeſſion, deſtroys the Honour of the Illuſtrious Title, by the Baſeneſs of unſeemly Actions. Since then there

there are ſcarce any Party of Chriſtians, any Corner of the Churches to be found, that do not abound with all Sorts of Wickedneſs, and the Contagion of deadly Sins, what Reaſon have we to flatter our ſelves for being known by the Name of Chriſtians? Seeing by being called by that moſt Sacred Name, we enhance our Guilt, becauſe our Lives diſgrace the Title. And ſo under the Name of Religion, we offend God the more, being under all the Ties and Obligations of it.

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK IV.

The Name of Holineſs without Good Works profitteth nothing. Of Theft, wherein it is excuſable; and of Servant's Faults: Of the World's living in Wickedneſs: How God by our Sins is daily provok'd. How God is the Giver of all things; and his Love towards us, who merit nothing but Death. Of the Law, accuſing us for living Wickedly. Of the Errors of the Barbarians. How Chriſt's Name is abuſed. Of how Great a Sin it is, to Cauſing others to Blaſpheme, by our looſe Living, and by deſpiſing Things we know muſt be done.

The Name of Holineſs without good works profitteth nothing.

I. WE have therefore departed from that Prerogative of the Chriſtian Name which I ſpoke of before, that becauſe we were more Religious than all other People, we ſhould, for that Reaſon, expect to be more Powerful. For ſeeing, as I have often ſaid, That the Faith of a Chriſtian conſiſts in this, that he ſincerely obſerve the Commandments

of Chriſt: It is manifeſt, beyond all Contradiction, that he who is inſincere in that Particular has not Faith; and that he who contemns Chriſt's Commandments, do's not believe in Chriſt: and ſo the Whole of the Matter turns on this, that he who does not the Duties of the Chriſtian Religion, cannot be thought to be a Chriſtian. For the bare Name without Action and Duty, ſignifies nothing.

Salvian *in his 2 Book to the Catholick Church.* For as a certain Author ſays: What is Sovereaignty without the height of Merit, but a Title of Honour without a Man? Or what is Dignity in an unworthy Perſon, but Pearl on a Dunghill? And therefore, that I may uſe the ſame Expreſſions, What is a holy Name without Merit, but Pearl on a Dunghill. This the holy Scripture it ſelf teſtifies, ſaying;

Prov. 11. v. 22. *As a Jewell of Gold in a Swines Snout, ſo is a fair Woman that is without Diſcretion.* The Name of a Chriſtian is to us as a Golden Ornament: but if we abuſe it, we ſhall look no better than the Swine with his golden Jewell.

But whoever has a mind to be further ſatisfied, that Words are of little Moment without Things, let him reflect what Numbers of People have loſt even their Names, when they fail'd in their Merits. The twelve Tribes of the *Jews*, when they were antiently choſen by God Himſelf, had two holy Names given them, for they were call'd, *The People*

Iſal. 50. v. 7. *of God*, and *Iſrael*. For thus we read, *Hear, O my People, and I will ſpeak: Iſrael, and I will teſtifie againſt thee.* So that the *Jews* were formerly both theſe, but now neither. For

neither

neither can they be call'd the People of God, who have long ſince left the Service of God: Nor *Iſrael*, or [a] *ſeeing God*, who deny'd the Son of God; As it is written, *Iſrael hath not known me, my People hath not conſidered.* For the ſame Reaſon God ſpeaks to the Prophet, concerning the People of the *Jews* in another place, ſaying; *Call his name Lo-ruhamah, or not beloved.* And again to the *Jews* themſelves: *You are not my People, neither am I your God.* And why he ſaid thus of them, he ſhews plainly in another place, where he ſays; *They have forſaken me the Fountain of living waters.* And again: *Lo, they have rejected the Word of the Lord, and what Wiſdom is there in them.* And this I fear was not more aptly ſaid of them at that Time, than it may be of us now, becauſe we do not obey the Words of the Lord; and we, who do not obey them, have not the leaſt Share of Wiſdom in us, unleſs perhaps we take it to be Wiſdom to deſpiſe God; and the higheſt piece of Prudence to contemn the Commandments of Chriſt.

[a] *See p. 6. of the 2d Book.*

Iſaiah 1. *v.* 3.

Hoſea 1. *v.* 6. *v.* 9.

Jerem. 2. *v.* 13.

Jerem. 8. *v.* 9.

And really, we give ſufficient Occaſion for any one to think thus of us: For we all purſue Sin with ſuch an Univerſal Conſent, as tho' upon mature Advice, we had entred into a Confederacy of Sinning. But ſince 'tis ſo, what Reaſon have we to delude our ſelves with ſo falſe an Opinion, as to think, that becauſe forſooth, we are call'd Chriſtians, that good Name will be helpful to us in the commiſſion of our bad Deeds! When the Holy

Ghoſt tells us, that Faith it ſelf without works, will not profit a Chriſtian; and certainly 'tis much more to have Faith, than a bare Name; for the Name is only the diſtinction of the Man, but Faith is the fruit of the Mind: And yet the Apoſtle teſtifies, that even this Fruit of Faith, unleſs accompany'd by Good-works, will prove unfruitful, where he ſays, *Faith without good works is dead.* And again. *For as the Body without the Spirit is dead, ſo Faith without Works is dead alſo.* He adds further in this place ſome more ſevere Things, to confound the Pretenſions of thoſe who flatter'd themſelves on the Preſumption of their Chriſtian Faith.

Jam. 2. *v.* 17. *v.* 26.

II. But perhaps, *ſome one may ſay, Thou haſt Faith, and I have Works: Shew me thy Faith without thy Works, and I will ſhew thee my Faith by my Works.* By which he ſhews, that good Actions are, as it were, the Witneſſes of a Chriſtian's Faith, becauſe, unleſs a Chriſtian do ſuch good Works, he can never make his Faith manifeſt: and ſo not being able to prove otherwiſe that he has it, he is altogether to be eſteem'd, as tho' he had it not.

v. 18.

For that he eſteem'd it as good as None, he ſhews by what he ſubjoins; ſpeaking to a Chriſtian: *Thou believeſt that there is One God, thou doeſt well: The Devils alſo believe and tremble.* Let us conſider well here, what the Apoſtle's Meaning is in this place: Let us not take Pett at any Teſtimony of Scripture, but rather aquieſce in it, not offer to contradict it, but

Jam. 2. *v.* 19.

but rather profit by it: *Thou doeſt believe,* (ſays this Scripture to the Chriſtian) *that there is One God, thou doeſt well: The Devils alſo believe and tremble.* Was the Apoſtle here under a Miſtake, when he compares the Faith of a Chriſtian Man to that of a Devil? Not at all, but deſigning to explain what he had ſaid before, that without good Works, a Chriſtian ought to arrogate nothing to himſelf on Pretence of his Faith; he therefore adds, The Devils believe there is a God; and that as thoſe Devils, altho' they do ſo believe, yet ſtill continue in their Perverſneſs, ſo ſome Chriſtians had juſt ſuch Faith as this of the Devils, would frankly own the Belief of a God, but ſtill perſiſt in their evil Doings. And then, to the Shame and Condemnation of wicked Sinners, he ſubjoyns, that the Devils did believe, not only the Name of God, but did fear and tremble: As much as if he had ſaid, Why do you, O Man, whoever you are, flatter your ſelf in your Belief, which without the Fear and Obedience of God ſignifies nothing? The very Devils themſelves have more than this. For you have only one Thing, they have Two; you have a Belief, but have not Fear; they have both Belief and Fear. Why do you wonder then if we are puniſh'd, or think it ſtrange we are chaſtis'd, if given into our Enemies hands, if we are leſs Powerful than other Men? For all our Miſeries, Infirmities, Overthrows, Captivities, and even our baſeſt Slavery are Manifeſtations of a bad Servant, and of a good Lord. How I pray you,

are they Teſtimonies of a bad Servant? Becauſe I only ſuffer a ſmall part of what I deſerve. And how are they of a good Lord? Becauſe by that he ſhews what it is we deſerve, altho' in Mercy he does not inflict it on us: for he had rather correct us with the moſt mild and gentle Chaſtiſements, than that we ſhould periſh; ſhould our Puniſhment be adequate to our Crimes, Death it ſelf would be our Doom: But He being infinitely more Merciful than Severe, had rather by a gentle Cenſure reform us, than by the Stroke of a juſt Condemnation deſtroy us. I am very well ſatisfied that it is not at all pleaſing to us to be thus puniſhed: But can it ſeem ſtrange to us that God ſhould puniſh us for our Sins, when we every day beat our Servants for their Faults? We are partial and unjuſt Judges: We would not have ſuch a contemptible Creature as Man chaſtis'd by God, when yet we chaſtiſe Man, a Creature, in the ſame Rank with our ſelves. But I do not admire to ſee us ſo unreaſonable in this Matter; ſince our very Nature and Iniquities are altogether thoſe of Slaves: We would commit Faults, but would not be beaten for them. We have every one of us the Temper of our meaneſt Slaves, we would all Sin without Puniſhment. I appeal to all, whether I am miſtaken or no. For I do aver that there is not one to be found, let his Crime be never ſo Great, who will freely own that he ought to ſuffer for it. And hence we may obſerve how unrighteouſly and wickedly we are moſt Severe upon others, when we are indul-

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gent to our ſelves, rigorous to them, but tender to our own Skins. For the ſelf ſame Fault we chaſtiſe others, but abſolve our ſelves. This is both intolerable Inſolence and Preſumption! We will not acknowledge any Guilt in our ſelves, and yet we have the Courage to exerciſe Authority upon others for the ſame thing. Can any thing poſſibly be more unjuſt and perverſe than we are in this Thing? We eſteem that Wickedneſs to be very tolerable in our ſelves, which we puniſh in others without Mercy. And therefore the Apoſtle has very good Reaſon to ſpeak to us after this manner: *Therefore thou art inexcuſable, O Man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt: for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf, for thou that judgeſt doeſt the ſame thing.* *Rom. 2. v. 1.*

III. But me thinks, I hear ſome of the rich ones ſaying, we are not guilty of the ſame Faults as our Slaves: for ſome of them are Thieves, and over-run their Maſters; ſome of them mind nothing but their Guts and Bellies. 'Tis very true that theſe are the common Faults of Servants; but yet their Maſters have more and much greater than theſe; tho' I can't ſay ſo of all Maſters; for ſome are to be excepted, altho' they are but very few: whom I forbear to name at preſent, leſt I may be thought not ſo much to commend them by ſuch naming, as to expoſe the others, whom I ſhall be forc'd to omit. In the firſt place then, if Servants are Thieves, it may be they are compell'd to it out of meer Neceſſity: who *Of Theft wherein it is excuſable, and of Servants Faults.*

altho' they receive their uſual Wages, yet it may be, the cuſtomary Stipend may not be ſufficient, and tho' it compleat their Wages, yet it may not fill their Bellies; and ſo for that Reaſon their Want may make it leſs Culpable, for he ſeems to commit a kind of excuſable Theft, who is forc'd againſt his Will to the Fact. And the holy Scripture ſeems in ſome ſort, almoſt to excuſe the Fault of ſuch poor diſtreſſed Creatures, when it ſays; *Men,* Prov. 6. v. 30. *do not deſpiſe a Thief, if he ſteal to ſatisfie his Soul when he is hungry.* So ſays *Solomon*: he ſteals to ſatisfie his Soul; and therefore they ſhould not be too Severely blam'd by us, whom the ſacred Scripture ſeems thus to excuſe. What I have ſaid here of Servant's Thievery, may be likewiſe ſaid of their Running away, and I think, with much more Reaſon; for not only Want and Poverty, but too ſevere Beating compels them to it. They are in continual Dread of their Bayly's, Superviſors, and Task-maſters; ſo that among ſuch a Gang, they ſeem to be rather any Bodies Servants than their Maſter's: Every one Beats them, every one Mawls them. And I need ſay no more, than that many Servants fly to their own Maſters, for Fear of their Fellow-Servants. So that their Running-away is not ſo much to be imputed to themſelves, as to thoſe that force them. Poor unfortunate Creatures, they are under the greateſt Violence; they deſire to ſtay and ſerve, and yet are compell'd to run away: They would not by any means depart from the Service of their Maſters, and yet

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the Cruelty of their Fellow-Servants will not ſuffer them quietly to undergo it. They are charg'd likewiſe to be guilty of Lying: when yet 'tis the Barbarity of the preſent Puniſhment that makes them do it; for they Lye purely to avoid the Laſh, and what Wonder is it that a frighted Servant ſhould tell a Lye to ſave a Scourging? They are further Accuſed of Gluttony and Gormondiſing. This is no Rarity; For he that has felt the Force of Hunger oft, is more Eager to ſtuff himſelf. But granting that he do's not want ſufficient Food, 'tis certain that he Faſts from Dainties; and therefore he may be Pardon'd, if he Eagerly deſires to Taſte what always is kept from him. But now you Great and Rich Perſon, who abound with All manner of Plenty, and who for that Reaſon ought to Honour God by your good Works, becauſe you ſo Largely taſte of His Favours without ceaſing, let us ſee if your Actions are entirely perfect, or even ſo much as Innocent. And where are thoſe Great Men, as I ſaid before, bating a very few, that are not Tainted with all manner of Crimes? When I thus except a Few, I wiſh I could except a Greater Number; for the Innocence of very Many might tend to the Preſervation of All. I would not be underſtood to ſpeak in this place of any other than of ſuch a One, who knows that what I ſay is within himſelf. For if what I am now mentioning be not within his own Conſcience, the Whole of what I urge do's him no Hurt at all; but if he be conſcious to himſelf of what I ſay, let him reckon

reckon it to come from his own Conſcience, and not from my Tongue. And in the firſt place, that I may ſpeak of Servant's Faults; If thy Servant be a Run-away, thou Rich and Great Man art a Run-away likewiſe. For all they Run away from the Lord, who relinquiſh the Law of the Lord. VVhat then is it that you with all your Riches, blame in your Servant? VVhy, he runs away from his Lord and Maſter, and you from yours. But in this you are much more Faulty than he, becauſe 'tis ten to one but that he deſerts a bad Maſter, but you always a good One. In the next place, you blame the Voraciouſneſs of your Servant. That which his Poverty will very rarely admit him to be guilty of, your Plenty makes your daily Practice. You ſee therefore that you, and only you are the Party, more eſpecially laſh'd by the Apoſtle's Judgment, becauſe in what you judge another, you condemn your ſelf: for you do the ſame Things which you Cenſure in others, not only the ſame, but Greater and Much more wicked; you fail not to puniſh Intemperance in him tho' acted very rarely, when you your ſelf are daily Cramm'd, even to the very Throat. Theft, in your Opinion, is a Crime likewiſe peculiar in Servants. But you, with all your Goods, are guilty of Theft likewiſe, for all they who do things that are unlawful, do by that involve themſelves in the Guilt of Theft.

IV. But

IV. But what need I treat of these Matters with such Nicety, and as at a distance, when not only the private Pilferings, but even the Notorious open Robberies of the wealthier sort are Manifest to all the VVorld? VVhere is there one that lives near a Rich Man, who is not actually a Beggar, or in as bad a Condition? For by the Incroachments and Oppressions of the Men of Power, the weaker and meaner Sort lose all that's theirs, and even their Persons too together with their Goods: So that the sacred Scripture does deservedly speak of both these sorts of Men, when it says, *As the wild Ass is the Lions Prey in the Wilderness: so the Rich eat up the Poor.* 'Tis not only the poorer Sort that are subjected to this sort of Tyranny, but almost All Mankind in general. For what's the Advancement of a Grandee now, but the porscribing of a City, or what's the Lieutenancy of others, whom I forbear to name, but Pillaging and Plunder? For nothing brings so certain a Destruction on the poorer Sort as Power. And Preferment is now purchas'd by some few, but to be paid by the destroying of All; Than which nothing can be more unworthy or unjust. The poor Subject pays the Price of the Preferment which he never purchas'd: and tho' the Bargain's made without him, yet he shall know the Payment: The VVorld's turn'd Topsy-turvy for the Advancement of a Few; One Man's Grandeur is the Bane of the whole VVorld. The (b) *Spains* can witness this, which have little else left them now but their Name;

Of the World living in wickedness.

Eccles. 13. v. 19.

(b) 1 Bœtica, 2 Lusitania, 3 Taraconensis.

Name; All the Parts of *Africa* know in what Condition they have been: And the (c) *Gauls* are ſenſible how they have been Plunder'd, tho' not alike by all, and therefore they have ſome ſmall Strength left yet, in ſome few Corners, by reaſon that the Integrity and Honour of ſome few Governours, has ſometimes repleniſh'd thoſe Provinces, which the Rapine of many others had waſted.

(c) Togata, Comata, Braccata.

V. But I have digreſs'd too far out of pure Grief and Concern: To return therefore to what I was ſaying before: What Vice is there familiar to their Servants, in which the Great Ones are not equally concern'd? Unleſs perhaps they make this Difference, to puniſh that as a Fault in the Servant, which they themſelves commit, as Juſt and Lawful: Beſides, a Servant is not admitted to Aſpire ſo high, as to exerciſe thoſe Oppreſſions and Encroachments I have before charg'd on the Wealthier Sort: Altho' in that I may be miſtaken; For ſome, who from Servants have become Great, have done the ſame or greater Feats. But this ought not to be any Imputation upon Servants in General, that ſome from their Condition have been ſo far Advanc'd. Murders are likewiſe very rare among the Servants, out of the Dread and Fear of Death: but you hear of them every day among the richer Sort, in confidence and hope of Pardon. Unleſs, it may be, I am thought to deal partially, to reckon this for a Fault which the Rich Men do: becauſe, when they kill ſome of their ordinary Servants, they think it is but Juſtice to do ſo,

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and not at all a Crime. But this is not all, they make uſe of the ſame Liberty in all their Lewdneſs and Uncleanneſs. For I would fain ſee that Rich Man who obſerves the ſacred Tyes of Wedlock, whom the Frenzy of Luſt do's not hurle headlong, whoſe Houſe and Family are not a ſort of Stews, and who do's not gratifie his mad Deſires upon whatſoever Perſon the Fevor of his wicked Luſts directs him: according to what the holy Writ ſays of ſuch Sparks as theſe. *They were as fed Horſes in the Morning, every one Neighing after his Neighbour's Wife.* *Jerem. 5. v. 8.* For do's not he prove this to be directly ſaid of himſelf, who endeavours filthily to enjoy whatſoever his Eyes luſt after? Perhaps I ſhall be thought to deal very hardly to mention any thing of their Concubines, becauſe that, in compariſon of the forementioned Wickedneſs, is a ſort of Chaſtity, it looks like being contented with few of the Sex, and to reſtrain their Luſts to a certain Number of Wives; Judge the Expreſſion of *Wives*: becauſe many are arriv'd to that height of Impudence, as to Eſteem their Maid-Servants as their Wives; and I could wiſh, that as they are thought to be in a manner Wives, ſo that they were the only Ones. For it is much more foul and abominable, that ſome who have lighted upon Honourable Matches, do a ſecond time take Wives out of the Rank of Servants, thereby diſgracing the Honour of ſacred Wedlock, by the Meaneſs of ſo degenerate an Allyance, not at all Bluſhing to become the Husbands of their own Servants, debaſing

baſing the State of their Noble Marriage in the dirty Beds of their own Slaves: Such Men I wiſh with all my Heart, in the Condition and State of thoſe their Spouſes, ſince they have ſhewed themſelves ſo very fond of their Company.

VI. I doubt not but very many of thoſe who are really Great and Noble, or thoſe who would be thought ſo, do receive with Scorn and Contempt that, in the handling the Subject I am now about, I have ſaid that ſome Servants are far leſs Wicked than their Maſters. But ſince I have not ſpoken this of All, but only of ſuch are Really ſo, I ought not to incur the Anger of any one, unleſs he know himſelf to be Indeed ſuch as I have Reflected upon, leſt for that very Reaſon, he be thought to be One of that Gang. Whoever among the Nobility do really deteſt ſuch Enormities, ſhould much rather be diſpleas'd with thoſe, who by their Vile and Naughty Actions, diſgrace the Titles that they bear: For tho' ſuch are a Burden and Scandal to all Chriſtians in General, yet the Stanch and Filth of their Actions, reflects moſt immediately upon that Order of which they are a Part. VVell then, 'tis granted I have ſaid, that ſome Noblemen are much more wicked than their Servants, I did ſay it, and it might ſeem odd enough, if I did not prove it as well as ſay it. Now to give an Inſtance of one of the Greateſt wickedneſſes, of which you ſhall ſcarce ever find any one Servant to have been guilty. For can any one Servant be nam'd that ever kept a Swarm of VVhores, or that is ſtain'd with the Scandal of having

having many VVives; or, like a Dog or Boar, thinks he may have as many Miſtreſſes as his Luſt can Satisfie? I know the Anſwer to this is eaſie, That Servants cannot do theſe things; and that they would certainly do them, if it were in their Power. I believe it. However, I cannot admit that as already done, which as yet I never ſaw done. For let their Minds be never ſo deprav'd, and their Inclinations never ſo wicked, yet no one ought to be puniſh'd for a Crime he never committed. That Servants are Baſe and Nought, is very certain. But then thoſe who are Noble and Better-bred, are much more to be blam'd, if being in a more Honourable Station, their Manners are much worſe. So that the Iſſue of this whole Affair will of neceſſity come to this, not that Servants ſhould be altogether quit from the Guilt of their Naughtineſs, but that many of the Great and Rich Men, in compariſon of Servants, are much more to be blam'd. For who can ſufficiently ſet forth, as it ought to be, that vile Robbery, that when the *Roman* Empire was as good as dead, or at leaſt breathing its laſt Gaſp, that in that part in which it yet ſeem'd to live, it ſhould expire, being ſtrangl'd with Cords of Taxes, as much as by the hands of the Invaders, and yet in this Condition you ſhall find very many of the Poor, who bear the Taxes of the Rich? That is, you ſhall find very many Rich Men whoſe Taxes murder the Poor: But what do I talk of finding very many, I fear I might have ſaid with greater Truth, you may find them all ſuch.

ſuch. For there are ſo very few free from this Evil, if there are any, that on that ſide where I ſay you may find Many, I might as well at once have included All. For what has the Eaſe ſome time ſince given, to ſome Cities produc'd, but only to ſet all the Rich Men free, and to encreaſe the Burden of the Poor, that the old Duties might be taken off from their Backs, and New ones put upon the others; that the removal and taking off of ſome ſmall Services ſhould enrich the one, only to torment the other with the addition of ten times greater: that they might grow rich by leſſening a Charge that was but a Feather to them, only to preſs the other to Death with multiplying the Load already too heavy to be born: So that the Remedy with the greateſt Injuſtice relieves the Rich, and as unjuſtly murders the Poor, a moſt unrighteous Reward to the One, and as unrighteous a Ruine to the Other? VVhence we may obſerve, that nothing can be more wicked than ſuch rich Men, who deſtroy the Poor by pretending to aſſiſt them, and nothing more unfortunate than ſuch mean Perſons, who are Ruin'd by that which was deſign'd as a Cure for all.

VII. But what kind of dealing is this, and what ſort of Sanctity muſt we ſtile it, that if any of the Nobility offer to be converted to God, he preſently loſes the Advantage of his Honour? Or what ſort of Reſpect has Chriſt in that Chriſtian Country, where the very embracing his Religion makes the Party ignoble? For as ſoon as any one begins to amend and

and grow better, he is deſpis'd and contemn'd as one grown much worſe; ſo that, for that Reaſon, all are in a manner, forc'd to be wicked, that they may not grow cheap. And therefore it is not without Reaſon that the Apoſtle ſays, *The whole World lieth in Wickedneſs*: And very truly; for with good grounds may the whole be ſaid to lie in Wickedneſs, where is there no room for the Good. For the Whole is ſo full of all manner of Ungodlineſs, that either they are all wicked who are in it, or thoſe few good that are remaining, are Haraſs'd and Perſecuted by the reſt. So that, as I ſaid, if any one of Note applies himſelf to Religion, he preſently loſes his Character. For when any one changes his Habit, he at the ſame time changes his Title; if before he was Valu'd, he is now Deſpiſable; if he was before very Splendid, he is now as Mean; if he was before all over Honour, he is now all over Contempt. And yet ſome Worldlings and People of little Faith, think it ſtrange that they feel the Anger of an offended God, when they thus perſecute God Himſelf in the Perſons of his Saints! All things are perverted and turn'd Topſy-turvy. If any one is righteous, he is deſpis'd as tho' he were wicked; if any one is wicked, he is reſpected as tho' he were righteous. 'Tis no wonder therefore if we daily ſuffer worſe things, ſince we our ſelves grow worſe each day than other. For Mankind daily commit new Sins, and never leave the old ones. A new Crop of Vices ariſes as a daily Addition to the remaining old Stock.

1 John 5. v. 19

How God by our Sins is daily provoked.

VIII. What room therefore is there for Complaint? Whatever Hardſhips and Inconveniences we ſuffer, they are much leſs than we deſerve! What reaſon have we to ſay that God deals hardly by us? Certainly we deal much more hardly with God. For we exaſperate Him by our Impurities, and compell him to puniſh us againſt his Will. And altho' the Eſſence and Majeſty of God be of that Nature, that it is not to be diſturb'd by the Paſſion of Anger, yet we by our Iniquities do ſo mightily provoke him, that we even force Him to be angry. We do, as I may ſay, offer violence to His Goodneſs, and rudely lay hands on His Mercy. And when His loving-kindneſs is ſuch that it would for ever ſpare us, the Sins we commit oblige Him to plague us with Misfortunes. And as they who beſet the moſt fenced Cities, or who endeavour to deſtroy or take the ſtrongeſt Forts, do without doubt ply them with all ſorts of Arms and Engines; ſo we in ſtorming the Divine Mercy, make uſe of all the greateſt Villanies and Crimes as our offenſive Arms; and eſteem Almighty God as injurious to us, when we our ſelves are moſt injurious to Him. For every Fault of every Chriſtian is an Affront offer'd to the Divine Majeſty: For when we do thoſe things which God forbids, we tread his Commandments under our Feet; and therefore it is very wickedly done of us to accuſe God of dealing Severely by us in our Calamities: we ſhould only blame our ſelves: For when we commit thoſe Faults which are the occaſion of our

our Diſtreſſes, 'tis we our ſelves that are the Authors of our Misfortunes. Why then do we cry out of the Sharpneſs of our Puniſhment? Every one of us is his own Tormentor, ſo that that of the Prophet is ſaid to all of us: *Behold all ye that kindle a fire, that compaſs your ſelves about with Sparks, walk in the light of your fire, and in the ſparks that ye have kindled.* For all Mankind run headlong into eternal Torment in the way here deſcrib'd by the Scripture; firſt of all they kindle a fire, then they add more fuel and force to it, and afterward enter into the flame they have provided. When therefore do's a Man firſt of all kindle Everlaſting Fire for himſelf? Why when he do's firſt of all begin to ſin: But when do's he add Force to the Fire? When he heaps one Sin upon the head of another. And when do's he enter into Everlaſting Fire? When by an overplus and ſuperfluity of daily Sinning, he hath fulfill'd the remedileſs Summ Total of his Iniquities; as our bleſſed Saviour ſaid to the Great Men of the *Jews*, *Fill ye up then the meaſure of your Fathers, ye Serpents, ye Generation of Vipers.* They were not far from the Complement of their Sins, to whom our Lord thus ſpoke, that they ſhould fulfil their Iniquities; and doubtleſs for that Reaſon, becauſe they were not worthy of Salvation, they might compleat their wickedneſs, in order to their Deſtruction. So in the old Law when it makes mention, that the Iniquities of the *Amorites* were fulfill'd, it tells us, that the Angels ſpoke thus to *Lot*: *Whoſoever*

Iſai. 50. *v.* 11.

Matt. 23. *v.* 32, 33.

Gen. 19. v. 12, 13. *ſoever thou haſt in this City, bring them out of this place, for we will deſtroy this place, becauſe the Cry of them is waxen great before the face of the Lord, and the Lord hath ſent us to deſtroy it.* That moſt profligate People had for a long time lighted the Fire by which they periſh'd; and therefore when they had fulfill'd their Iniquities, they roaſted in the Flames of their own Crimes: for they had ſo very highly offended God, that they endur'd that Hell in this world, which is to be felt in the other.

IX. But ſome one may ſay, there are none who deſerve to be deſtroy'd as they were, becauſe there are none guilty of the Impurities they were. Perhaps that may be true. But what ſhall we make of that which our Saviour ſays, that all they who deſpiſe his Goſpel are much worſe than them? For thus he ſays to the People of *Capernaum*: *If the mighty works had been done in Sodom, which have been done in thee, it might have remain'd unto this day: But I ſay unto you, that it ſhall be more tolerable in the day of Judgment for Sodom than for thee.* He ſays here, that the *Sodomites* are leſs Culpable, than thoſe who neglect the Goſpel, and therefore this is a moſt plain Reaſon why we, who do neglect it in many Inſtances, ought to dread ſomething worſe; eſpecially conſidering that we will not now be ſatisfied with the uſual and familiar Vices. The cuſtomary ways of Sinning are not ſufficient for many now: They are not contented with Brawlings, Calumnies, Rapine, Drunkenneſs, Rioting, Cheating, Perjury, Adulteries, Murders, no nor all

Luk. 10. v. 12, 13.

of

of them together, altho' moſt barbarouſly Inhumane, yet in Fact moſt injuriouſly inflicted on many, unleſs in the height of their Fury, they lay their Blaſphemous hands even on God himſelf. For as the Scripture ſays of the ungodly: *They ſet their mouth againſt the Heavens; and their tongue walketh thro' the Earth: And they ſay, how doth God know, and is there knowledge in the moſt High?* And in another place. *The Lord ſhall not ſee, neither ſhall the God of Jacob regard it.* And to ſuch as theſe we may very aptly apply that of the Royal Prophet; *The Fool hath ſaid in his heart there is no God.* For they who affirm that God ſees nothing, had as good at the ſame time take away his *Subſiſtence*; and when they ſay he has no Sight, they had as good ſay he has no Being. For altho' no very wicked Action can be conſonant to right Reaſon, becauſe Reaſon and Sinning are inconſiſtent, yet in my Opinion there is no wickedneſs ſo very wild and unreaſonable as this. For what can ſavour more of Frenzy, than that a Man ſhould acknowledge God to be the Creator of all Things, and yet to deny that he governs them; that he is the Former and Maker of all Things, and yet that he neglects his own Handywork? As tho' the Chief End and Deſign of making them was purely to diſregard them. Now on the contrary, I aſſert that he had ſo Great Care of all his Creatures, that I will prove, that he exercis'd it even before the Creation. The very Thing it ſelf ſhews it plainly. For he had never made any thing, unleſs he had ſome Thoughts of it beforehand;

Pſal. 73. *v.* 9. *v.* 11.

Pſal. 94. *v.* 7.

Pſal. 53. *v.* 1.

How God is the giver of all things and his love towards us; who merit nothing but death.

forehand; for we do not ſee any part of Mankind ſo very dull to undertake or go through with any thing that he may never mind it when he has done it. For he who cultivates his Field, do's it for that End, that he may preſerve it in that order. He who plants a Vineyard, do's it with Deſign to keep up the Plantation. He who begins to raiſe a Flock, do's it with Deſign to take care of their Increaſe. So he who builds a Houſe, or lays the Foundation of one, altho' at that time he has not a Dwelling ready for him, yet he undergo's the Charge and Pains of Building, in hopes and proſpect of his future Habitation. But why do I mention this in Man, ſince even the ſmalleſt Inſects direct their Actions with the Inſtinct of what is to come! Thus the Ants in their ſubterranean Cells, lay up what various Fruits they can, and gather all their Stock in order to preſerve their Lives. So Bees, when they lay the Foundation for their Honey-Combs, or gather that which comes from the Flowers; to what end do they deſire the Thyme; but with deſire and hope of Honey, or fly from Flower to flower, but out of love to their future young Ones? Hath God then, who hath implanted in the leaſt of Creatures ſuch Affections for their own works, depriv'd only himſelf of the love of his Creatures, eſpecially ſince all the Paſſion we have for good things deſcends to us from his good Love alone? For he is the Fountain and Original of All things; *'tis in him*, as the Scripture ſays, *we live and move and have our Being*; 'tis for him we receive all

Acts 17. v. 28.

that

that Affection with which we love every thing that is ours. For all the World and all Mankind are the Goods of their Creator: and therefore from that Affection with which he has made us love our Goods and Relations, he would have us underſtand how much it is that he loves his Goods and Relations. For as, as we read, *The inviſible things of him are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made*; ſo he would have us underſtand his Love toward us by that which he hath implanted in us for every thing that's ours. And as, as it is written, he would *that the whole Family in Heaven and Earth ſhould be nam'd from him*; ſo 'tis His Pleaſure that the Tenderneſs of a Father in Him ſhould be acknowledg'd by us. But what do I ſay of a Father? Yea rather much more than that of a Father. For that Saying of our Saviour in the Goſpel proves it ſo. *For God ſo loved the World, that he gave his onely begotten Son for the Life of the World.* And the Apoſtle ſays, *God that ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how ſhall he not with him freely give us all things.*

Rom. 1. *v.* 20.

Epheſ. 3. *v.* 15.

John 3. *v.* 16.

Rom. 8. *v.* 32.

X. This then is what I have ſaid before, that God loves us more than any Father does his Child. For 'tis a plain ſign that he loves us beyond the Love of Children, becauſe for our ſakes he ſpared not his own Son. And what's much more, a righteous Son, an onely begotten Son, and that Son God. Nay, and that which heightens it, 'twas for us, wicked, ungodly, moſt unrighteous us. Who can ſufficiently

ficiently value this Love of God toward us, since God's Justice is so Great, that it is not capable of admitting the least shadow of Injustice? For according to Humane Reason that Man would do a very unjustifiable Act, who should cause a very good Son to be destroy'd for the sake of very bad Servants. But in this the inestimable Love of God and his admirable Power is seen, that the Greatness of his Justice cannot be comprehended by Man, but rather in our weak Sight the greatest Justice seems almost a sort of Injustice. And therefore the Apostle, that he might shew us the Immensity of the Divine Mercy, says thus: *For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly: for scarcely for a righteous man will one die.* This one Sentence plainly shews us the great loving-kindness of God, for if it be hard to find one who will lay down his Life for the best Cause, Christ has demonstrated the Mighty Work he did for us, when he died for our Iniquities. But in what follows, he gives us a Reason why our Lord did all this: *God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet Sinners, Christ died for us, much more then, being now justified by his Blood we shall be saved from Wrath through him.* He commendeth it in this that he died for Sinners. For the unworthiness of the Party who receives it, adds a greater Value to the Favour: and therefore he says; *God commendeth his love toward us.* How does he commend it? Because he bestow'd the Blessing on those who did not deserve it. For if he had given it to

Rom. 5. v. 6.

v. 8.

v. 9.

holy

holy and deſerving Men, he would not have ſeem'd to have beſtow'd a Favour he was no way oblig'd to, but rather to have diſcharg'd a Debt. What therefore do we give in Return for theſe ſo Great Mercies, or rather what ought we in Duty to return? Why in the firſt place, that which the holy Prophet teſtifies that he did owe, and was reſolv'd to pay, when he ſays: *What ſhall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me, I will take the Cup of Salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord.* This then is the firſt Return, that we ſhould give Death for death, all of us be ready to lay down our Lives for him, who ſo freely died for us, altho' our Deaths will be of infinitely leſs Value than His: So that if we ſhould ſuffer Death, we ſhall not by any means diſcharge the Debt. However, if we cannot pay the Whole, we ſhall ſeem in ſome ſort to do it, if we take care to diſcharge it as far as we can. This then, as I ſaid, is the firſt Return. Now the ſecond is, that if we cannot pay the Debt by Death, we ſhould pay it by Love. For ſo our Saviour himſelf, as the Apoſtle ſays, would recommend his Love to All, that by the Example of his Mighty Loving-kindneſs he might draw them to the exerciſe of mutual Love and Charity. And as it is reported of thoſe (c) Gemms and Rarities of Nature, which being plac'd near to Iron, be it never ſo hard, will take it up with almoſt a kind of Affection; ſo he the pureſt and greateſt Gemm in the Coeleſtial Kingdoms deſign'd, that by his Deſcent from Heaven, he might

Pſal. 116. *v.* 12. *v.* 13.

(c) *Loadſtones.*

might joyn himſelf nearer to us, tho' hard as any Steel, that ſo he might move us to his Affections, as it were, by the hands of his own Love; ſo that making Acknowledgment of his Gifts and Favours, we might underſtand what it was fitting for us to do for ſo good a Maſter, when he had done ſuch Mighty things for ſo bad Servants; and ſo that Saying of the Apoſtle might be fulfill'd: *That for his ſake we ſhould be kill'd all the day long, and that neither Tribulation, nor Diſtreſſes, neither Perſecution, nor Famine, nor Nakedneſs, nor Sword ſhould be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.*

Rom. 8. 36. 38.

XI. Seeing then, that we are indebted to our Lord in all theſe Particulars, let us ſee how well we pay him, and what Returns we make. Why all thoſe Vertues which I have named above, every thing that is Baſe and Unworthy, every thing that will affront God, ſuch as wicked Actions, debauch'd Morals, Drunkenneſs, Gluttony, Bloody-hands, filthy Luſts, greedy Deſires, and every Wickedneſs that may more eaſily be thought of than expreſs'd. *For it is a Shame*, as the Apoſtle ſays, *even to ſpeak of thoſe things, which are done of them in ſecret.* But this is not all: For theſe things have been done formerly as well as now. But it is ſad and lamentable, that we add new Sins to the old ones, and not only new, but heatheniſh and monſtrous ones, and ſuch as were never heard of before in the Churches of God, venting prophane Speeches againſt God, and blaſphemous Slanders, as that

Ephes. 5. v. 12.

that God is regardleſs, ſupine, negligent, and not at all governing the World, and conſequently mercileſs and untrue to his Promiſes, inhumane, hard, and cruel. For he who is regardleſs, negligent and careleſs, how can he be thought to be other than cruel, hard and inhumane! This is Blindneſs and Impudence, the higheſt Sacrilege and Raſhneſs! We are not contented to wallow in our numberleſs Tranſgreſſions, and to be guilty of all in the preſence of God, but we muſt turn Accuſers and Proſecutors of the Deity. And what hope, for Gods ſake, can there be, when the Priſoner ſets up for a Proſecutor of his Judge?

XII. But, ſay theſe Men, if God do's regard Humane Affairs, if he takes care, reſpects or governs them, why are we more weak and miſerable than all other People? Why do's he ſuffer us to be cruſh'd by Barbarians and Foreigners? Why do we bear our Enemies Yoak? To anſwer in ſhort, as I have ſaid before, he do's therefore permit us to ſuffer all theſe Hardſhips, becauſe 'tis but what we deſerve. For let us take a view of that Naughtineſs, Baſeneſs, and Villany of the *Romans*, which I have mention'd before, and then we may judge whether we who live in ſo great Impurities can expect to be better protected. Since then many make uſe of this Argument, that becauſe we are miſerable and low, that therefore God do's not regard Things here below, what is it that we deſerve? For if in the midſt of ſo many Vices, if in the Commiſſion of ſo much Wickedneſs, he

he ſhould ſuffer us to be ſtrong, flouriſhing and happy, it might give occaſion to think that God did not at all regard the Iniquities of the *Romans*, who ſuffer'd ſuch vicious and profligate People to be happy. But ſince he is pleas'd that ſuch wicked and ungodly Sinners ſhould be poor and miſerable, it is the plaineſt Demonſtration, that God do's both behold and judge us, becauſe we ſuffer thoſe very things which we deſerve. I am ſatisfied that we do not think we deſerve ſuch Uſage; and this is a main thing which enhances our Guilt, becauſe we do not acknowledge that they are our Deſerts. For an impudent Pretence of Innocence is that which ſticks cloſeſt upon harden'd Sinners: and among a Multitude who are guilty of the ſame Miſdemeanor, there is none more Criminal than he who takes himſelf to be guiltleſs. And therefore we have only this one addition to make to our Baſeneſs, that we eſteem our ſelves to be blameleſs. But granting all this (ſays one of theſe Tranſgreſſors, and he one of the worſt of them) certainly it cannot be deny'd, but that we are better than theſe Barbarians, and thence it appears that God do's not mind Humane Affairs, becauſe altho' we are much the better Men, yet we are in Bondage and Subjection to thoſe who are worſe. Well then, we will ſee preſently, whether we are better than theſe Foreigners or no: There is no manner of doubt but that we ought to be much better: And that is one good Reaſon why we are worſe, becauſe 'tis our Duty to be better. For where the

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Condition and Station is more Honourable the Sin receives a greater Aggravation. Where the perſon of the Offender is more Honourable, the Fault ariſes in proportion. Thus Theft is a very great Wickedneſs, let it be committed by whom it will; but certainly it is more hainous in one of the firſt Rank, than in a contemptible Beggar. Fornication is forbidden every man, but yet it would look much worſe in a Clergyman than in an inferior Perſon. And ſo we who are called Chriſtians and Catholicks, if we admit the like Sins as theſe Foreigners do, it would be much worſe in us. For the Sin is much more heinous under the Profeſſion of that holy Title. Where the privilege is the greater, there the Sin is the groſſer. For the very Religion which we profeſs condemns our Practice. The Lewdneſs of one who has profeſs'd Chaſtity is more culpable, than of one who has not. So it is more Scandalous for him to be drunk who pretends to a great degree of Sobriety. There is nothing more contemptible than a lewd and vicious Philoſopher, for beſide the Deformity of the Vices themſelves, he will be particularly remark'd upon for his Character. And ſo we, who, all over the World, profeſs the Chriſtian Philoſophy, muſt of neceſſity be thought and reputed to be the worſt of Men, becauſe we have the Title of ſo Glorious a Profeſſion, and yet continue ſinning under the Tyes and Obligations of ſo holy a Religion.

Of the Law accuſing us for living wickedly.

XIII. I am ſenſible that to very many it will ſeem intolerable, that I have ſaid, we are worſe than the *Barbarians*. And what then, let it ſeem as intolerable as it will, it do's not help our Cauſe one Jott. Nay, 'tis rather an Aggravation to it, if we are really worſe, and yet take our ſelves to be better. *For*, (as the Apoſtle ſays) *if a man think himſelf to be ſomething, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himſelf: but let every man prove his own work.* We ſhould therefore rely upon our Deeds, not our Opinion of Things, our Reaſon, not Fancy, the Truth of Things, and not our own Wills. Since then ſome think it ſo hard that we ſhould be accounted either worſe, or at leaſt not much better than *Barbarians*, let us ſee, either how we are better, or than what *Barbarians* we are ſo. Now among all the different Nations of *Barbarians*, there are two Sorts, and they are, either (d) Hereticks, or (e) Pagans: As to both Sorts, I do aſſert, as far as concerns the Divine Law, that we are without Compariſon better; but then as to Life and Converſation, it grieves me at the Heart to think, that we are worſe. But yet, as I have ſaid before, I do not ſay this of the whole Body of the *Romans* in General. For in the firſt place, I except all the Religious, and in the next ſome Secular Perſons, as good as the Religious; or if that ſeem too much, ſome who by the Honeſty of their Actions come very near the Religious; but all the reſt, or as good as All, are more guilty than the *Barbarians*: For to be more guilty, is to be really worſe. And therefore,

Gal. 6. v. 3.

(d) Hereticks *were the* Goths *and* Vandals, *who were* Arians *vid. Book 5. p. 7.*

(e) *The* Pagans *that infeſted the Empire were the* Franks, Saxons, Moors, Scythians, Alans, Huns, *ſee p. 37. of this Book.*

fore, ſince ſome Men look upon it as irrational and abſurd, that we ſhould be accounted either worſe, or not much better than the *Barbarians*; or than what *Barbarians*, let us ſee, as I ſaid, how it is. Now I do ſtill ſay that, bateing only thoſe few of the *Romans*, whom I now mention'd, all the reſt, or as good as All, are more guilty and more faulty in their Lives, than the *Barbarians*. When you read this, it may be you grow Paſſionate, and beſide, condemn what you read. I ſubmit to your Cenſure. Condemn me if I lye; condemn me if I do not prove it, and condemn me, if I do not ſhew that the Sacred Scriptures have ſaid as much as I ſay now. We then judge our ſelves to be much better than All the reſt of the World, nor do I, who aſſert that the *Romans* are in ſome Things worſe, deny but that in ſome Things they are much better. For our Lives, and our Sins, as I ſaid, are worſe; but then we have the Advantage without compariſon by our Catholick Law. But then we ſhould conſider, 'tis no Thanks to us that our Law is good; but that our Lives are bad, is wholly owing to our ſelves. And what do's it profit us that the Law is good, when neither our Lives nor Converſations are good? For the good Law is the Gift of Chriſt, but a bad Life is from our own Faults. Nay we are by ſo much the more blameworthy, if we are poſſeſs'd of a good Law, and yet are bad regarders of it; I ſhould rather ſay, ſince we are wicked, we are no regarders of it; for he that obſerves it ill, regards it not at all: Neither

ther do's he reſpect a holy Thing, who does not reſpect it holily: and ſo by this means the very Law which we ſo eſteem becomes our Accuſer.

Of the Barbarian Errors.

XIV. Laying aſide therefore the Priviledge of the Law, which either helps us nothing at all, or elſe do's moſt juſtly condemn us; let us compare the Lives, Inclinations, Manners and Vices of the *Barbarians* with our own. They are unjuſt, ſo are we; they are covetous, ſo are we; they are faithleſs, ſo are we; they are griping, ſo are we; they are lewd, and ſo are we; in ſhort, they are guilty of all ſorts of Wickedneſs and Debauchery, and ſo are we; But perhaps it will be anſwer'd to this: If the *Barbarians* and we are alike vicious, Why are not we upon the level with them in Power? For ſince the Wickedneſs and the Guilt is alike, we ought either to be as Powerful as they are, or they ſhould be in as mean a Condition as we are. That is true; and by this 'tis manifeſt that they are the more wicked, who are the more weak. How do you prove that? Becauſe, as I have ſaid above, I have ſhew'd that God does all things in Juſtice and Judgment. For if, as the Scripture ſays, *The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good*; and according to the Apoſtle, *The Judgment of God is according to truth againſt all evil Perſons*: We our ſelves ſee, that ſince we do not leave off to do evil things, by the juſt Judgment of God we feel the Puniſhment of ſuch Evil Doings. But, ſay you, the *Barbarians* do the ſame things we do, and yet

Prov. 15. *v.* 3.
Rom. 2. *v.* 2.

yet they are not near ſo miſerable as we are. There is therefore this difference, that altho' they do the ſame things we do, yet at the ſame time we offend much more heinouſly: For their Vices and ours may be alike, and yet in thoſe ſame Vices our Sin muſt of neceſſity be much more weighty. For ſince, as I ſaid before (b) all *Barbarians* are either Pagans or Hereticks, that I may ſpeak firſt of the Pagans, ſince their Error is the Antienter; the (c) *Saxons* are cruel, the (d) *Franks* treacherous, the (e) *Gepids* inhumane, the (f) *Huns* lewd; in ſhort, the Life of all *Barbarians* in general, is Vice it ſelf. But it does not follow from thence that their Vices and ours have the ſame Guilt; Shall a *Hun*'s Lewdneſs be look'd upon as Criminal as ours, or the Treachery of a *Frank* be as Blameable as in one of us? Shall the Drunkenneſs of an (g) *Alan* be Cenſur'd as much as that of a Chriſtian, or the Thievery of an *Alban* be condemn'd as much as the Thievery of a Chriſtian? If a *Hun* or a *Gepid* cheat you, it is no Rarity, becauſe he knows nothing of the Sin of Cheating. *If a Frank forſwear, 'tis no new thing with him, who takes Perjury to be only a different way of ſpeaking, and not at all a Crime.* And what wonder is it that *Barbarians* ſhould believe thus, who know neither God nor his Laws, when almoſt the greater part of the *Roman* Empire have the ſame Thoughts, and know they ſin at the ſame time? For not to ſpeak of any other Sort of Men, let us take a view only of the Companies of Merchants and

(b) pag. 28.

(c) *See the great Geographical and Hiſtorical Dictionary in* English *for all theſe and their Titles.*

Traders, who now fill the greateſt part of every City, and ſee whether their Life be any thing elſe but continual Plodding how to cheat, and downright thread-bare Lying, or if they do not take thoſe words to be utterly loſt which do not bring ſome Advantage to the Speaker. Thoſe men have ſo Extraordinary a Reſpect for the Honour of God which forbids common Swearing, that they look upon every Man's Perjury to be of ſingular Advantage to them. Can we think it ſtrange then that *Barbarians* ſhould cheat, who know not the Sin of Cheating? For being utterly ignorant of God's Commandments, they do nothing in Contempt of them; for he who knows not the Law, can do nothing wittingly againſt it. This then is peculiarly our Guilt, who read God's Laws, and yet always take care to tranſgreſs them; who boaſt that we know God, and yet contemn his Precepts and Commands: And ſo by deſpiſing Him whom we fancy and boaſt that we ſerve, that very Thing which ſeems deſign'd for the Worſhip of God, becomes an Abuſe and Affront to His Majeſty.

Chriſt's Name abuſed.

XV. But, to ſay nothing of other Sins at preſent, where will you find any among the Laiety, bating ſome few, who have not always the Name of Chriſt in their Mouths to Forſwear themſelves by? So that this is become the moſt common Oath among the Nobility, as well as Common People: By Chriſt I'll do it, By Chriſt I'll perform it: By Chriſt I'll ſay nothing elſe, By Chriſt I'll do nothing elſe. In ſhort, the Matter is come to that Paſs, that,

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as I ſaid before of the *Franks*, the Name of Chriſt ſeems now not to imply the Sacredneſs of an Oath, but only a ſort of Cant in ſpeaking. For ſo little is this Name regarded by very many, that they never deſign leſs to do a thing, than when they ſwear by Chriſt they are reſolv'd to do it. And when the Scripture ſays, *Thou ſhalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*, we are come to have that mighty Veneration for Chriſt, that among all the Vanities and Follies of the Age, ſcarce any thing ſeems ſo contemptible and vain as that ſacred Name. For there are many who ſwear by Chriſt that they will do, not only ſome trivial, idle Buſineſs, but the greateſt of Villanies: with ſuch 'tis the common Form of Speaking: By Chriſt I'll take away ſuch a Thing, By Chriſt I'll ſlay him, By Chriſt I'll murder him. And ſo far are they arriv'd, that if they have once ſworn by the Name of Chriſt, they take themſelves bound moſt religiouſly to commit the Sin. I will tell you what lately happen'd to my ſelf. *Not long ſince, being mightily preſs'd by a certain poor Man, to ſpeak to a rich Neighbour of his, to deſire him not to take away the poor Creature's Eſtate and Goods; that he would not carry off the Salary and Income that Maintain'd him in that low Station: To which he, whoſe Ravenous Deſires gap'd after the Man's Eſtate, and who had already in his Mind devour'd the Man and Goods, looking Sternly upon me, as one that thought I was taking from him, what he had not yet taken from the other, Anſwer'd, that he could not by any Means grant my Requeſt,*

Exod. 20. *v.* 7. *Deut.* 5. *v.* 11.

as positively as if it had been some of the greatest Duties he was performing, and which could not by any means be dispens'd with: When I desir'd to know the Reason why the Thing could not be done, he gave me the most Convincing and Urgent one, and which was not by any means to be gain-said: I have, *says he*, sworn by Christ to take all from him; and pray do you consider whether it be in my Power now to leave undone what I have sworn by that holy Name to do. *At which I (for what more could I say, when he had so just and holy a Pretence) walk'd off when I had heard the Reason of so Religious a piece of Villany.*

Of how great a Sin it is, In causing others to Blaspheme by our loose living, and by despising things we know must be done.

XVI. I would now desire to know of all those who are as yet in their Wits, whether ever any one could possibly think that the Impudence of Men's covetous Desires could go so high in affronting their Maker, as to assert, that they do those things out of Reverence to Christ's Name, which yet are the greatest Disrespects that could be done him? This is unaccountable and prodigious Wickedness! To what Baseness will not Men's wicked Inclinations draw them! They arm themselves for Pillaging and Plunder by the Name of Christ, and make even God the Author of their Crimes; and when Christ is the Prohibitor and Punisher of all Wickedness whatever, they tell you they commit it purely for Christ's sake. And do we complain of the Iniquities of our Enemies, and accuse Heathens and Barbarians of Perjury?

Perjury! With how much leſs Fault do they forſwear by their Dœmons than we by our Lord! How much leſs a Crime is it to play and trifle with the name of *Jupiter* than that of Chriſt! In that caſe there is only a dead Man who is ſworn by: But in the other 'tis the living God who is forſworn by. In that there's not ſo much as a meer Man, but here the Almighty God. In our caſe there's a Renunciation of the greateſt Oath, and therefore of neceſſity the greateſt Guilt and Perjury. In their's, ſince there's as good as no Oath, there can be no Perjury. For ſince it is not a God by whom they ſwear, it cannot be Perjury when they chance to break it. But whoever has a mind to know the Truth of this, let him hear the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul*, delivering the ſame Doctrine that I do now: For thus he ſays: *We know that whatſoever the Law ſays, it ſpeaks to thoſe who are under the Law.* And again; *Where no Law is, there is no Tranſgreſſion.* In theſe two Sentences, he has plainly rank'd the two Parts of Mankind, thoſe without the Law, and thoſe who live under it. Who are they therefore who are now under the Law? Who ſhould they be but the Chriſtians; ſuch as the Apoſtle was, who ſays of himſelf: *I am not without the Law of God, but am under the Law of Chriſt.* Who are therefore without the Law of Chriſt? Who but *Pagans*, who know not the Law of Chriſt? And therefore it is of theſe he ſays, *Where no Law is, there is no Tranſgreſſion.* By which one ſingle Paſſage he ſhews, that only the Chriſtians,

Rom. 2.

Rom. 4. *v.* 15.

Rom. 7.

ſtians, when they ſin, are the Tranſgreſſors of the Law, but the Heathen who know nothing of the Law do ſin without Tranſgreſſion: Becauſe no one can be a Tranſgreſſor of that Thing which he do's not know. We therefore are the onely Tranſgreſſors of the Divine Law; we who, as the Scripture ſays, read the Law, but do it not, and ſo by that means our Knowledge is nothing elſe but our Fault, ſince we have known the Law to no other End, but to break it with greater Aggravation: Becauſe what we have known by Reading, we have contemn'd and deſpis'd by our Pride and Luſts. And therefore that of the Apoſtle is moſt truly ſaid to every Chriſtian. *Thou that makeſt thy boaſt of the Law, through breaking the Law, diſhonoureſt thou God? For the Name of God is Blaſphem'd among the Gentiles thro' you.* Hence may be ſeen what Crime it is the Chriſtian are guilty of, ſince they give occaſion to the Blaſpheming the Name of God. And when we find in the Scriptures, that we ſhould do *all things to the Glory of God*, we on the contrary do every thing we can to diſgrace him. And when our Saviour every day calls to us, *That our light ſhould ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee our good works, and glorifie our Father which is in Heaven*: We on the contrary live ſo, as that Men may ſee our evil Works, and ſo by that means, blaſpheme our Father which is in Heaven.

Rom. 2. *v.* 23. *v.* 24. 1 *Cor.* 10. *v.* 31. *Matt.* 5. *v.* 16.

XVII. Since Matters are thus, we have great Reaſon, on my word, to ſooth our ſelves with the great Advantage we have of being

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call'd Chriſtians, ſince we act and live at ſuch a rate, as that we are a Scandal to Chriſt, by the bearing of his holy Name. But, on the other ſide, what like this can be ſaid of any of the Heathen? Can it be ſaid of the *Huns*; See what ſort of People theſe are who are call-ed Chriſtians? Can it be ſaid of the *Saxons* or *Franks*; Behold the Actions of thoſe who ſtile themſelves the Worſhippers of Chriſt? Is our moſt holy Law blam'd for the bruitiſh Carriage of the *Moors*? Do the barbarous Rites of the *Scythians* and *Gepids*, cauſe the Name of our Lord and Saviour to be evil ſpok-en of and blaſphem'd? Can it be ſaid of any of theſe; where is the Catholick Law which they believe? Where are the Precepts of Pie-ty and Chaſtity which they learn? They read the Goſpels, and yet are lewd: they hear the Apoſtles, and yet are Drunkards; they follow Chriſt, and yet love Rapine, they lead a wic-ked Life; and yet Brag of the Goodneſs of their Law. Can ſuch Things as theſe be ſaid of any of thoſe Nations, no, not by any means: 'Tis of Us, and only us, of whom they are true-ly ſaid. 'Tis in us that Chriſt is ubraided, 'tis through us that the Chriſtian Law is evil ſpoken of. 'Tis of us that what I mention'd above, is ſaid: Lo, what ſort of People they are who worſhip Chriſt. Their Pretence of Learning only good Things is Sham and Falſe-hood, as well as their Brags of the Excellency and Holineſs of their Law. For if they learn'd what was good, they would be good them-ſelves; for ſuch is the Religion as are the Pro-

feſſors of it. Undoubtedly they are ſuch as they have been taught to be. It is plain therefore that the Prophets they have, do teach uncleanneſs; that the Apoſtles they read, have publiſh'd wickedneſs, and the Goſpels they are principl'd in, do inſtruct them in ſuch Actions. If Chriſt had taught them holy Things, his Followers would certainly live holy Lives. One may gueſs what a One he is, who is worſhipp'd, by the Practice of thoſe who worſhip him. How can the Maſter ever have been good, whoſe Diſciples we ſee, are ſo very bad? For from him they are call'd Chriſtians, 'tis him they hear, and him they read. Any one may eaſily underſtand the Doctrine of Chriſt. Look and ſee the Chriſtian's Actions, and you'll preſently perceive what 'twas that Chriſt taught. But what wicked and baſe Thoughts the Heathen always had of our Lord's Religion, may be learn'd from the moſt Cruel Tortures of their barbarous Perſecutors, who believ'd that in the Chriſtian Sacrifices there was nothing but Impurity and abominable Wickedneſs. For they thought the very beginnings of our Religion came from two of the greateſt Villanies; from Murder, and then, which is worſe than Murder, from Inceſt; not from Murder and Inceſt only, but, which is ſtill more wicked, from the Inceſt it ſelf and Murder; from the Inceſt of pious Mothers, and the Murder of their innocent Babes, which they believ'd were not only murder'd by the Chriſtians, but eaten alſo, and all this to pacify their God; as tho' any thing could have more offended Him:

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An odd ſort of Expiation of ones Sin, by another as great or greater: To recommend a Sacrifice by thoſe Things which the Lord does moſt abhor; and as if it could be worth our while to gain eternal Life, if poſſibly it could be compaſs'd, by ſuch monſtrous Wickedneſs.

XVIII. We may from hence perceive what ſort of People the Heathen took the Chriſtians to be, who worſhipp'd their God with ſuch Sacrifices, or elſe what ſort of God it was they pray'd to, who taught them ſuch ſort of Duties. But how came they to have ſuch Apprehenſions of us? How ſhould it be but from thoſe who bear the Name of Chriſtians, but in Reality are not, who by their Sins and Wickedneſs diſgrace their Religion, who, as the Scripture ſays, *Profeſs that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and diſobedient, and unto every good work reprobate*; by reaſon of whom, we read, *the way of Truth is evil ſpoken of*, and the moſt holy Name of our Lord God is violated by the evil Tongues of ſacrilegious Men? But how heinous and particular a Sin it is, to cauſe the ſacred Name of God to be blaſphem'd among the *Gentiles*, we learn from the Example of (h) holy *David*, who, when in conſideration of his many righteous Actions, he was thought worthy to eſcape eternal Puniſhment by only one Confeſſion of his Fault, yet could not obtain pardon of this Sin, tho' he ſought it by the Mediation of Repentance. For when *Nathan* the Prophet had ſaid to him, after he had acknowledg'd his Fault, *The Lord hath put away thy Sin*,

Tit. 1. *v.* 16.

2 *Pet.* 2. *v.* 2.

(h) *See Book the Second.*

2 Sam. 12. v. 13. v. 14. *Sin, thou ſhalt not die,* he adds immediately; *Howbeit, becauſe by this Deed thou haſt given great Occaſion to the Enemies of the Lord to blaſpheme, the Child alſo that is born unto thee ſhall ſurely die.* And what follow'd after? Why, his Crown caſt off, and Jewels laid aſide: his Robes put by, and all his Royal Ornaments remov'd, inſtead of theſe he became Solitary, Penſive, ſhut up, cloath'd in Sack-cloath, all moiſt with Tears, andcover'd over with Aſhes; he begg'd the Life of the young Babe with ſuch a Crowd of Lamentations, and aſſaulted the God of Mercies with ſo great Prayers and Addreſſes; but after all theſe Prayers and Supplications, it was not to be granted, when yet, which is the moſt powerful Help in Prayer, he pray'd in Faith, that what he ask'd of God he ſhould obtain. By which we may ſee that there is ſcarce a Crime of deeper Dye, than to give occaſion to the Gentiles to blaſpheme. For he who ſins grievouſly without the Blaſphemy of others, only draws Damnation upon himſelf; But he who makes others to blaſpheme, carries them headlong with him to Deſtruction; and 'tis of neceſſity that he be guilty, for ſo many as he drew with him into Sin. But this is not all. For whatſoever ſinner do's ſo offend, as not to cauſe others to blaſpheme by ſuch Sin, he has only upon himſelf the Guilt of his own Tranſgreſſion, but the moſt holy Name of God does not ſuffer by the Sacrilegious Tongues of Blaſphemers. But he who by his Sinning cauſes others to blaſpheme, do's neceſſarily make his Sin above

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the ſtandard of common Humane Crimes, becauſe he offers the greateſt Injury imaginable to God himſelf by the encouraging ſuch a Multitude of Blaſphemers.

XIX. This then, as I ſaid, is a Malignity peculiar to the Chriſtians: becauſe God is blaſphem'd only by thoſe who learn what's good, yet practiſe the quite contrary, who, as the Scripture ſays, confeſs *God in their Words, but deny him by their Deeds*; who, as the ſame Apoſtle ſays, *Reſt in the Law, and know his will, approve the things that are more excellent, who have the form of Knowledge, and of the Truth in the Law, who preach that a man ſhould not ſteal and yet ſteal; who read that a man ſhould not commit Adultery, and yet commit the Sin, who make their boaſt of the Law, and yet by breaking of the Law do diſhonour God.* And ſo by this the Chriſtians become much worſe, who ought to be much better. For they do not give proofs of what they profeſs, but rather contradict their Profeſſion by their bad Morals. And wickedneſs committed under a good Title is more Damnable, and a holy Name enhances the Guilt of the Sinner. So our Saviour in the *Apocalypſe* ſpeaks to the lukewarm Chriſtian: *I would thou wert cold or hot; ſo then becauſe thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpew thee out of my mouth.* Our Lord commands every Chriſtian to be fervent in Spirit: for thus ſays the Scripture, *That we may be fervent in Spirit, ſerving the Lord.* 'Tis in this Fervour of Spirit that the Heat of Faith and Religion is ſhewn, he who has a great deal

Tit. 1. *v.* 16.

Rom. 2 *v.* 17, 18. *&c.*

Rev. 3. *v.* 15, 16.

Rom. 12, *v.* 11.

deal of this Heat, is reckon'd to be fervent and faithful: he who has nothing at all of it, is esteem'd altogether cold and a Heathen; but he who is neither, but between both, is the lukewarm Trimming Christian, and hated of our Lord; and therefore to him it is said, *I would thou wert cold or hot; so then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth:* I wish thou hadst either the Heat and Faith of good Christians, or the Cold and Ignorance of the Heathens. For either thy warm Faith would bring thee to God; or thy Ignorance of the Law, would for the present, at least, in some measure, excuse thee. But now since thou hast already acknowledg'd Christ, and doest neglect him whom thou hast owned, thou who wast receiv'd, as 'twere within God's mouth by the Profession of the Faith, shalt now be spew'd out for thy Lukewarmness. And this the blessed Apostle St. *Peter* do's evidently declare, speaking of the Vicious and Lukewarm, that is, of the Christians who led ungodly Lives.

2 Pet. 2. v. 21. *It had been better for them not have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy Commandment deliver'd* v. 22. *unto them. But it is happen'd unto them according to the true Proverb, The Dog is turn'd to his own Vomit again, and the Sow that was wash'd,* v. 20. *to her wallowing in the mire.* Now that we may understand plainly that this is spoken of those, who, under the Title of Christians, live in the Filth and Impurities of the World, hear what he says of the same People, in the same

ſame place. *For if*, ſays he, *after they have eſcaped the Pollutions of the World, thro' the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, they are again entangled therein: the latter end is worſe with them than the beginning.* The bleſſed Apoſtle St. *Paul* ſays much after the ſame manner; *Circumciſion verily profiteth if thou keep the Law: but if thou be a breaker of the Law, thy circumciſion is made uncircumciſion.* That by Circumciſion in this place he means Chriſtianity, he teaches us plainly, when he ſays: *For we are the Circumciſion who worſhip God in Spirit, and have no confidence in the fleſh.* By this we ſee that he compares bad Chriſtians to Pagans, and not only compares them, but even leaves them behind them, where he ſays: *If the uncircumciſion keep the righteouſneſs of the Law, ſhall not his uncircumciſion be counted for Circumciſion: And ſhall not uncircumciſion which is by nature, if it fulfil the Law, judge thee, who by the Letter and Circumciſion, doeſt tranſgreſs the Law?* Hence we underſtand, as I ſaid before, that we who have God's Law and deſpiſe it, are much more criminal, than they who neither have it, nor any knowledge of it. For no body contemns that which they do not know: *I had not known Luſt*, ſays the Apoſtle, *except the Law had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not covet.* Neither can they ever tranſgreſs a Law they never had, as the Scripture ſays, *Where there is no Law there is no Tranſgreſſion.* And therefore if they do not deviate from the Law which they have not, neither do they deſpiſe the Precepts of ſuch Law: Becauſe,

Rom. 2. v. 25.

Philip. 3. v. 3.

Rom. 2. v. 26.

v. 27.

Rom. 7. v. 7.

Rom. 4. v. 15.

as

as I ſaid, no body can deſpiſe that of which he has no knowledge. 'Tis we then that are the Contemners and Tranſgreſſors of the Law, and by ſo much are worſe than theſe Pagans: Becauſe they have not known God's Commandments, but we have known them: They have them not, but we have them: They do not practiſe things that they never heard of, but we tread under foot what we read and hear. And therefore there is only Ignorance to be laid to their Charge, but Sin and Tranſgreſſion at our doors: For 'tis a much leſs heinous Offence not to know the Law, than after the Knowledge of it to contemn it.

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK V.

Of the Law, and its Commands; and how good they are, if we uſe them aright. The Deſcription of the Hereticks; and of Tradition. Of Ignorance which excuſeth: Of Envy; Of the Rarity of the Good. Of the Errors of the Romans. *Of Oppreſſion: Of the Mercy of God.*

Of the Law, and its Commands, and how good they are, if we uſe them aright.

I. I Am very well ſatisfied that many of the greateſt Libertines, and of thoſe who are not capable of receiving the Truth, may object againſt all that I have ſaid and urge, that if the Guilt of wicked Chriſtians be ſo Great, that by their neglecting thoſe Commands of God, which they do know, they ſin more heinouſly than the Heathen People who know nothing of them; that then the Ignorance of theſe is much more Advantageous to them, than Knowledge would have been; and that the having come to the knowledge of the Truth, makes much againſt the others. But the Anſwer to theſe Men is eaſie; That it is not

not the Truth which is againſt them, but their own Vices, 'tis not the Law that hurts them, but their own Morals. For let our Manners be good, and the Law will be on our ſide. Let us leave off Sinning, and then we ſhall have Profit from the Law. *For we know,* (ſays the Apoſtle) *that the Law is good, if a man uſe it lawfully.* Uſe the Law then lawfully, and it will be of advantage to you. *For we know* (ſaith he) *that the Law is good, if a man uſe it lawfully, knowing this, that the Law is not made for a righteous man.* And for that Reaſon, do you begin to be righteous, and ſo you will be free from the Law; for that Law can never come againſt thoſe Morals which are already altogether conſonant to it. *For we know* (ſays he) *that the Law is good, if a man uſe it lawfully, knowing this, that the Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawleſs and diſobedient, for the ungodly and for ſinners, for unholy and profane,* —— *and if there be any other thing that is contrary to ſound Doctrine.* So that you may ſee by this, O Man, that the Law is not ſo much againſt you, as you are againſt the Law; it is not contrary to you when it commands you what is good, but you are contrary to it when you live ill: for it provides for your Welfare by ordering every thing that is righteous, and you contradict it by doing every thing that is wicked; ſo that you act not only againſt the Law, but even againſt your own ſelf, for ſo far as you contradict it, you act againſt your ſelf; becauſe in the Law is both your Salvation and your Life; ſo that, when

1 *Tim.* 1. *v.* 8.

when you leave off to follow God's Law, you desert and forsake your own Salvation. Our complaint against the Divine Law is much such a one as a poor impatient Sick Man uses to make of the best Physician, who, when by his own Fault he has made his Distemper worse, lays the Blame on the Ignorance of the Doctor. As if the best Prescriptions could cure any Infirmity, if the Sick Party does not follow them, or that any Method laid down by a Physician can set any one upright, unless the Sick Party resolves strictly to pursue it. What good will a bitter Draught do the Stomach, if Syrups be presently powr'd upon it? What good does the Silence of the by-standers do to a Man in a Phrensy, when he destroys himself with his own Noise? How can that Antidote work which is follow'd by a larger Dose of Poyson? Now the Law is our Antidote, and our Vices are the Poyson: The Antidote of the Law cannot cure us, whom the Venom of our Vices does destroy. But I have now and formerly spoke sufficiently of these Matters; and if there shall be occasion, I shall, with God's Assistance, say more to the same purpose hereafter.

The Description of the Hereticks, and of Tradition.

II. In the mean time, since I have before made mention of two Sorts or Sects of *Barbarians*, *viz.* Pagans and Hereticks; because, as I suppose, I have spoken sufficiently of the Pagans, I shall now, as my Method requires, discourse likewise of the Hereticks. For it may be urg'd: That altho' the Divine Law does not require at the hands of Pagans, that

ſhould obey thoſe Commandments which they never knew, yet it certainly exacts Obedience from the Hereticks, who do know them; for that they read the ſame things which we read, and have the ſame holy Prophets, Apoſtles and Evangeliſts; and that therefore the Law is not leſs neglected by them, than 'tis by us, but rather indeed much more; becauſe they have the Advantage of reading the ſame Scriptures we do, and yet do much worſe Things than our People. Let us therefore take a view of Both. They read, ſay you, the ſame Things that are read by us. How I pray you, can thoſe things be ſaid to be the ſame, which have been formerly by wicked hands moſt lewdly corrupted, and depend on worſe Tradition? So that they are not the ſame, becauſe thoſe things cannot be ſaid to be altogether the ſame, which are faulty in any one of their Parts. For they can have no ſafety in them, ſince they have loſt their Perfection, nor have they always continued in the ſame State, which are depriv'd of the efficacy of the Sacraments. 'Tis We therefore alone that have the ſacred Scriptures perfect, uncorrupted, and entire, who either drink of them at the very Fountain head, or by the aſſiſtance of a juſt Tranſlation have drawn them from their pureſt Originals. 'Tis only We that read them truly; and I would to God, we fulfill'd the Contents of them as truly as we read them rightly. But I fear that we, who do not obſerve them well, do not read them well neither: becauſe there do's leſs Guilt acrue by not reading holy things at

at all, than by diſobeying the good Things we do read. For other Nations either have not the Law of God, or they have it tatter'd and corrupted; and ſo by that means, as I ſaid before, they have not at all what they have only ſo. And altho' there may be ſome of theſe Barbarians, who may ſeem to have the holy Scripture not ſo much abus'd and alter'd, yet they have it corrupted with the Tradition of their antient Founders, ſo that they have rather a Tradition than the Scripture, becauſe they do not adhere to what the Truth of the Text directs, but to the wicked Gloſs inſerted by their naughty Tradition. For they are altogether Barbarians, ignorant not only of the *Roman*, but even of all Humane Learning, who know nothing in the World but what they hear from their own Doctors, and what they hear, That they follow; ſo that 'tis of neceſſity that they, who, being thus without all Learning and Knowledge, do come to know the ſacred Truths of the Divine Law, by Doctrine rather than by Reading, ſhould rather retain that Doctrine than the Law it ſelf. And ſo the Tradition of their Teachers and their accuſtomed Doctrine, is to them inſtead of a Law; becauſe they know nothing elſe but juſt what they are taught. They are then Hereticks, but not wilful ones. They are reckon'd Hereticks with us, but not among themſelves. For they fancy themſelves ſo good Catholicks, that they beſtow the civil Title of Hereticks, even upon us. So that we are the ſame to them that they are to us. We are cer-

Of Ignorance which excuſeth.

tain that they are injurious to the divine Generation, when they aſſert the Son to be leſs than the Father: And they think we are as injurious to the Father, becauſe we believe both to be equal. We have the Truth with us, but they preſume that they have it among them. The true Honour of God is among us; but they fancy that what they believe is more for the Honour of the Deity. They are unkind and unneighbourly; and 'tis one of the greateſt pieces of their Religion to be ſo. They are ungodly; but yet they think 'tis true Piety to be ſo. 'Tis plain therefore they are in Error; but yet they err with an honeſt Mind, not out of Hatred, but of love to God, believing that they love and honour our Lord. Altho' they have not the right Faith, yet they nevertheleſs believe this to be the perfect Love of God. How they ſhall be hereafter puniſh'd for this Error and miſtaken Opinion, no body can tell but the Judge: And in the mean time, I preſume, God Almighty affords them his long-ſuffering, becauſe he ſees them, altho' not right in their Creed, yet to be miſtaken with a Deſire of entertaining the true Opinion; and eſpecially ſince he knows that they do all thro' Ignorance, but our People neglect thoſe things which they believe; ſo that they ſin purely thro' the Fault of their Teachers, but our People by their own; they are ignorant, ours very knowing; they do that which they take to be the right, but our People that which they know to be wrong. And therefore by a moſt juſt Judgment the long-

ſuffering

ſuffering of God ſupports them, and ſeverely puniſhes us: Becauſe Ignorance may in ſome ſort be excus'd, but Contempt can never merit a Pardon. For thus ſays the Scripture: *The Servant who knows not the will of his Lord, and does it not, ſhall be beaten with few ſtripes; but he who knows his Will, and does it not, ſhall be beaten with many.* Luk. 12. v. 47. 48.

III. Let us not wonder then if we are afflicted many ways, becauſe we ſin not for want of Knowledge, but out of Perverſneſs. For tho' we know what is good, yet we do it not; tho' we underſtand the difference between Vertue and Vice, yet we follow the latter; we read the Law, and yet trample upon the Contents of it, and make our ſelves acquainted with its ſacred Sanctions and Precepts, for no other end, but to ſin more heinouſly, after we are forbidden to do it. We pretend to worſhip God, and yet are downright Vaſſals to the Devil. And notwithſtanding all this, we are for receiving all good Things from the hand of God, when we are heaping one Wickedneſs upon the head of another. We would have him to fulfil our Deſires, when we will not perform his Will; And behave our ſelves as tho' we were Superior to our Maker. We deſire that God Almighty always ſhould obey our Wills, when all of us live in Contradiction to His. But he is juſt and righteous, and we are wicked and unjuſt. For he puniſhes thoſe he thinks worthy of it, and bears with thoſe who deſerve Forbearance: and both as Means to one and the ſame End;

that Chaſtiſement might put a ſtop to the Luſt of Sinning in the Catholicks, and that his long-ſuffering might ſome time bring the Hereticks to the perfect knowledge of the Truth; eſpecially ſince he may think thoſe not altogether unworthy of the Catholick Faith, whom he ſees to live much better Lives than the Catholicks. Now all thoſe I am thus diſcourſing of are either *Vandals* or *Goths:* For I do not ſpeak one word of the *Roman* Hereticks, who are almoſt innumerable, neither do I compare them either to *Romans* or *Barbarians*, becauſe the Errors in their Faith make them worſe than the *Romans*, and the Filthineſs of their Lives more baſe than the *Barbarians*. But this is ſo far from being a pleaſing Thought, that 'tis a greater weight than the Load which we have laid upon our ſelves, becauſe thoſe whom I am forc'd to give this Scurvy Character of, are *Romans*. And this may let us ſee what the whole Body of the *Romans* may deſerve, when one part of them affront God by wicked living, and the other both in Doctrine and Life. Nay and with this further, that even theſe very Hereſies of the *Barbarians* have formerly had their riſe from the Naughtineſs of the (a) *Roman* Government, ſo that 'tis altogether our Fault that theſe Barbarous People ever had Hereſies among them.

(a) *The* Goths *became* Arrians *to pleaſe the Emperor* Valens.

Of Envy. IV. But as to what relates to the Converſation of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, what is there in which we can prefer our ſelves before, or compare our ſelves to them? And in the firſt place, to begin with Love and Charity (which our

our Lord teaches us, is one of the Chief Christian Vertues, and which he recommends to us not only thro' all the Sacred Scriptures, but even in His own Person, when he says; *By this shall all men know that you are my Disciples, if ye have love to one another.*) Now almost all the *Barbarians* who are of one Country and Government, generally love each other; but all the *Romans* generally take care to persecute one another. For who is that Citizen, who do's not envy his Fellow-Citizen? Who is there that loves his Neighbour throughly? They all are absent in Affection, tho' not in distant Places; altho' they are joyn'd in Habitation, their Minds are far assunder. And I would to God this were all, tho' one of the greatest Plagues, and that 'twere only thus with Fellow-Citizens and Neighbours. That is much worse, that even Kinsmen do not perform the Duties of their Kindred. Where is that Relation that shews himself such to his Kindred? Who is there pays to Love what he acknowledges to owe, even to the very Name? Who is that in Reality which he is said to be? Who is so near allied in hearty Affection as in Blood, in whom cursed Malice and Emulation do not burn, whose sole base Envy has not seis'd, and whom another's Prosperity does not put upon the wrack? Who do's not reckon another Man's good Fortune his own Misery? Who is so satisfied with his own Happiness, as to be content that another should be so as well as he? For many now are possess'd with a new and an unaccountable

John 13. v. 35.

Plague; they have no Enjoyment of their own Happineſs, unleſs they are ſure others are unhappy. How very cruel, and extreamly impious, how far from the Practice of the *Barbarians*, and how very common among the *Romans* is it to Ruine each other by Fines and Outlawries; but I miſtake when I ſay *each other*; if 'twere ſo, 'twould be more tolerable that one Party ſhould ſuffer what he had inflicted upon another: But this is the Miſchief that many are proſcrib'd by a few, who make a Prey of the publick Fines, and what bears the Title of a Debt to the Treaſury, is put into private Pockets; and this not only by the Great ones, but their Underlings; not only the Judges, but by their meaneſt Dependents. For what either City, Town, or Village is there, where there are not as many Tyrants as there are Magiſtrates? Altho' it may be, they pleaſe themſelves with the Name, becauſe it makes them look Big and Stately: For ſo 'tis with all Thieves, who pride and glory when they are reported to be much more daring than they really are. What place is there then, as I ſaid, where the very Bowels of Widdows and Orphans are not devour'd by the Governours of Cities, and with them thoſe of almoſt all holy Men? For they reckon of them as of Widdows and Orphans; becauſe out of Reſpect to their Profeſſion they will not defend themſelves, or thro' their Innocence and Humility they cannot. So that there is not one of theſe ſafe, nor any others, except the Great ones, free from the Deſtruction

ction of this Torrent of Thievery, unleſs thoſe who are in every reſpect as very Thieves as themſelves: Nay to ſuch a pitch is the Roguery arriv'd, that unleſs a Man be very wicked, he cannot be ſafe.

Of the rarity of the Good.

V. Well, however, ſince there are ſo many who deſtroy the Good, without doubt there are ſome who in the midſt of the Calamity do aſſiſt and protect them, who, as the Scripture ſays, *Deliver the Poor and Needy from the hand of the Oppreſſor.* No. *There is none that doeth good, no not one:* And he therefore ſays, *no not one*, becauſe good Men are ſo very ſcarce, that they ſeem all to be contracted into one. For who can aſſiſt the Diſtreſſed and Afflicted, when even the Chriſtian Prieſts do not withſtand the Oppreſſion of wicked Men? For many of them either hold their Tongues altogether, or ſpeak to as little Effect as if they had held them; and this many of them do, not out of Cowardice, but adviſedly, as they think, and with Reaſon. They will not declare the plain Truth, becauſe the Ears of wicked Men cannot bear it; they do not only refuſe to hear it, but even hate and abominate it; they do not only not fear and reverence it when they hear it, but deſpiſe it with the greateſt rebellious Pride and Obſtinacy. So that they who can ſpeak, keep ſilence, whilſt ſometimes they ſpare the Wicked, and will not produce to them the Force of open Truth, leſt they ſhould make them worſe by a too earneſt preſſing of the Truth upon them. And thus it comes that the Poor are Oppreſs'd,

Pſal. 14. *v.* 2. 53. *v.* 2.

Widdows

Widdows mourn, Orphans are trod under foot, insomuch, that many of them, well born and genteely bred, fly over to the Enemy, for Fear of Dying here under the publick Persecution, going to seek the *Roman* Humanity among the *Barbarians*, becaufe they cannot undergo barbarous Inhumanity among the *Romans*. And altho' they differ from thoſe they fly to, both in their Rites, and Language; and, as I may ſo ſay, in the ungrateful Scent of their Bodies and awkward Cloathing, yet they had rather bear with a different Habit among the *Barbarians*, than with raging Injuſtice among the *Romans*. And therefore from all Parts they ſtraggle either to the *Goths*, or the *Bacaudæ*, or to ſome other of the Conquering *Barbarians*, and they do not repent their Journey. For they had rather live free under a ſeeming Captivity, than be real Captives under a ſeeming Liberty. So that the Name of *Roman* Citizens, formerly eſteem'd not only very high, (d) but purchas'd at a great Price, is now voluntarily rejected and fled from, and is reckon'd not only cheap and contemptible, but abominable and a Burden. And what greater Evidence can there be of the Injuſtice of the *Romans*, than that many Creditable and Noble Perſons, and to whom the *Roman* State ought to be an Honour and an Ornament, are yet compell'd by their Cruelty and Oppreſſion to quit the Name of *Romans*? And hence it is, that even thoſe who do not go over to the *Barbarians*, are yet compell'd to be ſuch, as is plain in a Great Part of the *Spaniards*, and

The Errors of the Romans.

Outlaws or Outliers of Gaul.

Acts 22. *v.* 28.

no

no ſmall one of the *Gauls*, and in general in all thoſe thro' the whole *Roman* Empire, whom the Roman Injuſtice has now made not to be Romans.

VI. I ſhall ſpeak now of the (e) *Bacaudæ*, who being pillag'd, diſtreſs'd, and murder'd by cruel and unjuſt Judges, after they had loſt the Priviledge of the Roman Liberty, have now alſo loſt the Honour of the Name. What is only their Misfortune is thrown upon them as their Crime, and we impute a Name on their Calamity, which we our ſelves have been the occaſion of: We call them Rebels, and loſt Wretches, when we our ſelves compell'd them to the Crime. For how came the *Bacaudæ* to be ſuch, but by our Injuſtice, and the Wickedneſs of their Judges, but by the Proſcription and Rapine of thoſe who converted the publick Tribute to their own private Gains, and have made the Peoples Taxes only a Prey for themſelves? Who like the moſt Savage Beaſts, have not ſo much governed thoſe put under their Care, as they have devour'd them, not being ſatisfied with the Spoils of the Men, as moſt Thieves are uſed to be, but have torn them piece-meal; and, as I may ſay, have gorg'd themſelves with their very Blood. And thus it came that the Men being ſuffocated and murder'd by the notorious open Robberies of their Governours, began to be in a manner *Barbarians*, becauſe they were not permitted to be Romans. They were ſatisfied to be what they were not, becauſe

(e) *A ſort of Outlaws Tories, Raperies, or Refugees of Gaul.*

cauſe they were not ſuffer'd to be what they had been; and were forc'd at leaſt to defend their Lives, becauſe they ſaw plainly they had utterly loſt their Liberty already. And what are we doing now, but the very ſame thing that was done before, that is, that they who already are not *Bacaudæ*, ſhall be forc'd to be ſuch. For as far as Violence and Injury can go, they are compell'd to be willing to be ſo; but then their Weakneſs hinders them, that they are not ſuch. So that they are as Captives groaning under the Enemies Yoak. They endure the Hardſhip out of Neceſſity, but not Choice; they with all their heart would be free, and yet undergo the greateſt Slavery.

Of oppreſſion. VII. And thus it is that we deal with almoſt all of the meaner Sort. For by one thing they are ſtreighten'd to two the moſt different. The greateſt violence prompts them to a Deſire of Aſpiring to their Liberty, but the ſame Violence do's not ſuffer them to accompliſh what it forces them to deſire. But it may be, theſe Men are blam'd, becauſe they do deſire it, when all they covet is, that they may not be forc'd to deſire it: For 'tis their greateſt Misfortune that they do deſire it; And they would be much better dealt with, if they were not compell'd to have ſuch a Deſire. But how can theſe poor Creatures otherwiſe chuſe than deſire Liberty, who undergo the daily, nay hourly Ruine of publick Taxes, who have the always Grievous and never ceaſing Proſcription hanging over their Heads, who deſert their Dwellings leſt they ſhould be tortur'd in their own

own Houſes, and run into Baniſhment to avoid the Puniſhment? Publick Enemies are more mild to theſe than the Collectors: For ſo 'tis plain in Fact, they run over to the Enemy to avoid the Violence of the Taxing. And even all this, tho' it be hard and inhumane, yet would be leſs grievous and unpleaſant, if all did bear it equally and alike. 'Tis moſt ſhameful and tormenting that all do not bear the Burden of All; that the Tribute due from the Rich, is laid on the poorer Sort, and the Weak bear the Burdens of the Strong. Nor is there any other Reaſon that they cannot bear them, only that the Burden of the miſerable People is greater than their Eſtate. They ſuffer two the moſt different and unlike Things, Envy and Poverty. Envy is in the Great Payment, Poverty in the Eſtate. If you look at what they pay, you would take them to be very Rich; but if you mind what they have, you will find them miſerably Poor. Who can ſufficiently ſet forth this Myſtery of Iniquity? They bear the Payment of the Rich, and the Indigence of the Beggars. But I have much more to ſay to this Matter. The Great ones ſometimes make Additi nal Taxes, for which the poorer Sort are ſure to pay. But, ſay you: ſeeing their Eſtates and Revenues are much the Greater, how comes it about that they ſhould be willing to encreaſe their own Debt? You don't hear me ſay that they do encreaſe it. For it is for that Reaſon they do augment it, becauſe it is not augmented on themſelves; and I will tell you how. There do often come freſh

freſh Couriers and Expreſſes ſent from the higher Powers, who are recommended to a few Great Perſons, to the Ruine of a great many others. For theſe, there is preſently order'd ſome new Preſents, and ſo new Levies muſt be made. The Great ones decree what the meaner Sort muſt pay, the Favour of the Rich orders, what a whole Herd of Wretches muſt diſcharge. For they do not in any wiſe feel the Weight of their own Decrees. But, you'll ſay, thoſe that come from the Higher Powers muſt be Reſpected and Treated handſomely. I grant ye, but pray then do you Great ones be the firſt to Gratifie them, who are ſo ready to order others to do it. Be you the firſt in beſtowing your Money who are the firſt in the Liberality of your Words: You who give of my Suſtance, pray ſpare a little out of your own: Altho' in Juſtice you, whoever you are, who ſolely expect the Thanks, ſhould ſolely bear the Expence. Well, we poor Knaves reſt ſatisfied in the good Will and Pleaſure of you Rich ones. Let all of us pay what a few of you command: Can any thing have more of Juſtice or Humanity in it? Your Orders ſtill load us with new Debts: Pray at leaſt let the Debt be in Common between us both. For can any thing be more unrighteous or unworthy, than that you alone ſhould be free from the Debt, who are the Parties who make us all Debtors? And really the poor People are moſt miſerable that pay all this I have been ſpeaking of, and neither know why nor wherefore they pay it. For who dare examine

amine why he pays, or who is ſuffer'd to find out what his Debt is? But then it comes out when the Great ones fall out among themſelves, when ſome of them take ſnuff that ſome things have been decreed without their Advice and Approbation. Then you may hear ſome of them ſay: *What ſtrange Doings are theſe! Two or three order what will be the Ruine of many; a few Great ones decree what muſt be rais'd upon a great many very poor ones.* For every one of theſe Rich ones ſo far gratifies his own Pride, that he would not have any thing paſs in his Abſence, and not out of any Reſpect he has to Juſtice, to ſtop the paſſing of any unrighteous Thing when he was preſent. For what they had found fault with in others, they themſelves, either to revenge the former Slight, or to ſhew their own Power, do afterwards Eſtabliſh. So that the poor unhappy meaner People are plac'd, as it were, in the middle of the Sea, amidſt the contending Storms, are ſometimes overwhelm'd with the Waves of one ſide, and ſometimes with thoſe of the other.

VIII. But I warrant you thoſe who have been thus hard in this particular, are more juſt and moderate in others, and make Amends for the Badneſs of one Buſineſs by the fair Dealing in another. And as in the Impoſition of freſh Supplies they bear hard on the poorer Sort, ſo they ſupport and aſſiſt them by the freſh Remedies: and as the leſſer People were moſt burden'd with the new Taxes, ſo they are moſt eas'd by the new Remedies. No, their injuſtice

juſtice is alike in both Caſes. For as the meaner People are the firſt in the Burden, ſo they are the laſt in the Relief from it. And if at any time, as it lately happen'd, the Higher Powers have thought fit that the Taxes of ſome decay'd Cities ſhould be leſſen'd, the Great ones immediately part that Remedy that was given in common to all, among themſelves. No one then thinks of the Poor: Nor calls the mean and needy to the partaking of the Favour. He who is always firſt in bearing of the Burden, ſhall in the laſt place receive the Eaſe from. And what ſhall I ſay more? The poorer Sort are not reckon'd to be Scot and Lot Men, unleſs when the Load of Tribute is put upon them, but when a Remedy is to be ſhar'd, they are caſt out of the Number. Do we think then that we do not deſerve the ſeverity of the Divine Vengeance, when we are thus always oppreſſing of the Poor! Or do we believe, ſeeing we are perpetually unjuſt, that God will not as conſtantly exerciſe his Juſtice upon us? For where or among what People, unleſs among the *Romans* only, will you find ſuch wicked Dealings as theſe? Whoſe injuſtice is ſo great as this of ours? The *Franks* know nothing of this Villany. The *Huns* are abſolutely free from it. There is no ſuch thing among the *Vandals*; nothing of it among the *Goths*. For ſo far are the *Barbarians* among the *Goths* from bearing any thing of this Nature, that the very *Romans* who live among them feel nothing of it. So that it is the unanimous Prayer of all thoſe *Romans*, that

that they may never be forc'd again to come under the Power of the *Romans*. There 'tis the Peoples conſtant and daily Wiſh, that they may ſtill lead the Life they now live among the *Barbarians*. And yet we admire that the *Goths* are not routed by our Armies, when our own People chuſe rather to live with them, than with us. So that our Countrymen will not only not return from them to us, but deſert us to go over to them. And really, it ſeems a little ſtrange to me, that all the Poor and meaner Sort, who are aſſeſs'd to the Taxes, do not all go over, and there ſeems to be only one Reaſon why they have not done it; Becauſe they cannot carry over with them the diminutive Remnants of their Fortunes, their poor Cots and Families. For ſince many of them are forc'd to quit their little Fields and ſorry Huts, to avoid the Violence of the Exactions, how would they not leave what they are compell'd to, but if 'twere poſſible, would carry it off with them. However, ſince they cannot accompliſh this, which, it may be, they had rather, they ſtrike up with the only Method that is left them. They throw themſelves into the Guardianſhip and Protection of the Great ones: They ſurrender themſelves into rich Men's hands, and entirely put themſelves under their Power and Juriſdiction. I ſhould not take this to be any great Burden or Miſfortune, but ſhould rather commend this Power of the Great ones, to whom theſe poor People ſurrender themſelves, if they did not ſell their Protections, and when they gave

them ſuch Shelter, they did it out of Charity or good Nature, and not for ſordid Lucre. But 'tis very hard and cruel, that they only ſeem to Protect them, that they may Plunder them; they defend them only on Condition, that they may make thoſe who are miſerable already, to be much more ſo. For all who are under this ſeeming Protection, make over almoſt All their whole Eſtates to their Guardians, before they can procure the Favour; and ſo the Children loſe their Inheritance, that the Fathers may gain a Protection. The defence of the Parents is procur'd with the Beggary of the whole Family. And theſe are the Grand Helps and Protections of the Great ones. They give not a Croſs to thoſe who are under their Patronage, but keep all to themſelves. And thus the Parents for ſome ſmall while, have a little Advantage, that afterward the Whole may be taken from their Children. So that the Great ones ſell, and ſell at the higheſt Rate they can, every Favour that they do: And what I call ſelling, I wiſh they would ſell after the uſual Method; for then, it may be, the Buyer might reſerve ſomewhat for himſelf. But this is a new and unheard of Way of Buying and Selling. The Seller delivers nothing, and yet receives all. The Buyer receives nothing, and yet utterly loſes all. And ſince this is common almoſt in all Bargains, that the Buyer is generally the Richer, and the Seller the Poorer, for that the Buyer purchaſes with Deſign to encreaſe his Eſtate, and the Seller parts with his Goods in order to leſ-

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ſen it; this kind of Dealing is prodigious, the Seller's Eſtate encreaſes, when the Buyer has nothing left but ſheer Beggary. And how intolerable and monſtrous, and ſo far from being endur'd by Mankind that 'tis not fit to be heard by them, is this, that many of theſe pitifully Poor, miſerable Wretches, who are robb'd of all that little they had, and driven from their little Lands, even when they have thus loſt their Eſtate, yet ſtill pay the Tax for the Eſtate thus taken from them; and tho' they have loſt the Poſſeſſion of that, their Capitation does not leave them. They have not one jot of Property, and yet they are over-born with Taxes! Who can ſufficiently ſet forth this Wickedneſs? The Oppreſſors brood upon their Eſtates, and theſe poor Creatures pay the Tribute for them. After the Father's Deceaſe, the Sons, by reaſon of the Father's former Service, have not their Lands, and yet are mur-der'd with the Duties of them. And ſo by theſe Pranks, it comes to paſs, that they who were before ſtript by private Oppreſſion, do yield up the Ghoſt by publick Squeezing, and from whom Robbery had taken away their Eſtate, pilling and polling has taken away their Life. And therefore many of thoſe, who either naturally are more conſiderate, or whom Neceſſity has forc'd ſo to be, when they have either loſt their Houſes and Lands by Oppreſſion, or have been driven from them by the Tax-gatherers, and find they cannot hold them, they ſeek out for the Lands of ſome Great Men, and ſo become Farmers to

the Rich. And as they who being affrighted with the Approach of an Enemy, are uſed to betake themſelves to their Strong-holds, or they who have forfeited the Protection of the Government, do in deſpair fly to ſome place of Refuge, even ſo theſe Men, who can no longer enjoy the Seat and Honour of their Family, betake themſelves to the Drudgery of a pitiful Tenement, being reduc'd to the neceſſity of being ſtrangers not only to their Eſtate, but even to their former Stations and Conditions, Baniſh'd not only from their Fortunes, but even from themſelves, and looſing every thing together with themſelves; they want both a Property in their Goods, and have loſt all Title to their Liberty and Freedom.

IX. And really, ſince Misfortune and Neceſſity have made it ſo, this mean Condition might, however, be born with, if there were not ſtill ſomewhat worſe. But it is bitter and grievous that there is yet a greater Miſchief follows. For they are receiv'd as Strangers, but their Dwellings prejudice them ſo far as to make them Natives, and after the Pattern of *Circe*, that moſt powerful Enchantreſs, who was ſaid to change Men into Beaſts, all of theſe who are admitted within the Lands of Great Men, are pefectly Metamorphos'd, as by a Draught of *Circe*'s Bowl. For thoſe whom they receive as Foreigners and Aliens, they preſently ſeize as their proper Goods; and thoſe who are well known to be Gentlemen, are converted into Slaves. And do we wonder then if the *Barbarians* carry us away Captive, when

when we thus captivate our own Brethren? Never think it ſtrange that our Cities are ſack'd and deſtroy'd. We have long taken a world of Pains by the Oppreſſion of very many, that ſo by captivating others, we our ſelves ſhould at length begin to be Captives too. For now we feel, tho' much later than we deſetve; we feel, I ſay, at length, what we have done; and, as the holy Scripture ſays, *We eat the labours of our hands*; and by the juſt Judgment of God, we pay the Debt we owe. We have ſhewn no Compaſſion to thoſe who have been Baniſh'd from their own Country, and loe, we our ſelves are now in that Condition? We have put Tricks upon Strangers, and behold, we our ſelves are become Wanderers and are put upon. We have over-reach'd Men of Condition by the Corruption of the Times, and loe, we of late begin to live in a foreign Soil, and yet fear, even now, the like Corruptions. And, O how Great is the Infidelity and Blindneſs of our naughty Minds! We are now under the Sentence of a Judging God, and yet we do not acknowledge our ſelves to have been adjudg'd. Nay ſome good Men admire that other People, who yet have not ſuffer'd any ſuch thing, are not amended by our Examples, when as we our ſelves, who are now under God's hands, are not the leaſt reform'd by his puniſhing of our Iniquities. O intolerable Pride! Very many bear the Puniſhment of their Iniquities, and yet no body vouchſafes to underſtand the Cauſe of the Chaſtiſement. But the Reaſon of this Pride

Pſal. 128. v. 2.

Of the Mercy of God.

is plain; altho' we do indeed undergo ſome Hardſhips, yet we do not ſuffer what we deſerve. For the Mercy of God is ſo Great, that altho' he would have us ſuffer for ſome of our Faults, yet he would not have us bear them all; tho' he puniſhes the Wicked, he cannot do wickedneſs: and he had rather we ſhould acknowledge our Sins, than bear the Weight of them; that ſo, by thoſe loving and wholeſome Stripes, he might ſhew us what we deſerve to bear, but yet will not lay upon us our Deſerts, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, where he ſays: *Doſt thou not know that the goodneſs of God leadeth thee to Repentance? But after thy hardneſs, and impenitent heart treaſureſt up unto thy ſelf wrath againſt the day of wrath.* We do really juſt thus, as the Apoſtle ſays. For God calls us to Repentance, but we treaſure up Wrath; God invites us to Pardon, but we daily add Sin to Sin. We offer Violence to God for our Iniquities, we arm the Divine vengeance againſt us. We force the Almighty againſt his Will to revenge the Outragiouſneſs of our Offences. Nay we almoſt go ſo far as not to give him leave to ſpare us. For ſince there cannot the leaſt ſign of Injuſtice ever happen to, or appear in God, we act ſo, that if he do's not execute Vengeance on our Gigantick Villanies, he will almoſt ſeem to be unjuſt.

Rom. 2. v. 4, 5.

X. But ſome one or other was formerly a Sinner, perhaps now he is not; Is there any end of Sinning, and do not Men ſooner leave their Lives than their Iniquities? For where

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is one, who do's not die in his Offences, and is buried with, nay in his very Tranſgreſſions? So that That of the Prophet may be truly apply'd to them: *Their Graves are their Habitation for ever: they are compared unto the fooliſh bruit Beaſts, and are made like unto them.* Pſal. 48. 12. v. 20. And I wiſh they were like Beaſts: for it had been better for them to have gone out of the way by bruitiſh Stupidity: Becauſe it is worſe, and enhances the Crime, that they have offended God, not out of Ignorance, but Contempt. And are they the Laity only that have done this? No, ſome alſo of the Clergy. What, of the Seculars only? No, many alſo of the Religious, who under the Cloak of Religion are enſlav'd to Secular Vices; who after all their former Sins and Debaucheries, taking upon them the Title of Sanctity, and being the ſame they ever were in their Converſation, have only by a new Profeſſion chang'd their Name, but not their Lives, and taking the Whole of God's Worſhip to conſiſt more in odd Cloaths, than good Actions, have only put off their former Garments, but not their Inclinations. So that thoſe take themſelves to be Offenders with much leſs Cenſure, who, when they are ſaid to do ſomething like Penance, as they do not leave their former Courſes, ſo neither do they change their Habit. For theſe Men do almoſt every thing ſo, that you would not ſo much think they had formerly repented of their Sins, as that they afterward repented of that very Repentance, nor that they had formerly repented ſo much, that they had liv'd

ill, as afterward, that they had ever promis'd to live well. They know that I ſpeak the Truth, and their own Conſciences bear Witneſs to what I ſay; and that as of many others, ſo particularly to thoſe Religious Hawkers and Courtiers of new Honours; and after they have taken the Name of Penitents upon them, purchaſers of very large and never-before-poſſeſs'd Power. So that they would be not only Seculars, but much more; 'tis not enough for them to be what they were before, unleſs they ſhould afterward be ſomewhat more than they had been. How then do not ſuch repent of their former Repentance? Even as they alſo repent, that ever they had a Thought of their Converſion to God, who abſtaining from their own Wives, do not keep their hands from the wrongful taking away of other Men's Goods, and when making profeſſion of the Continence of their Bodies, they run Horn-mad with the Incontinence of their Minds. This is an altogether new ſort of Converſion. They do not do thoſe things they lawfully may, and yet commit thoſe that are unlawful. They refrain from Copulation, but do not refrain from Rapine. What's the meaning of ſo ridiculous a Perſwaſion? *God hath forbid Sinning, but not Wedding.* Your Actions do not quadrate with your Principles. You ought not to be the Patrons of Vice, who pretend to be the followers of Virtue. You act moſt prepoſterouſly. This is not a turning to God, but a turning away from him. Since, as the Report go's, you have long ſince left the work

work of honeſt Matrimony, pray, likewiſe at length leave off your Sinning: And that, as is fitting, all manner of Sinning: But yet if you cannot refrain from all, becauſe perhaps you take that to be a difficult and impoſſible Task, yet I beſeech you, hold your hand from prodigious and monſtrous Impieties. I grant you, whoever you are, that no Neighbours may hold up, nor mean People live near you. I allow that you be a Perſecutor of many indigent People, and a Deſtroyer of the diſtreſſed; I allow that you be an Afflicter of all, ſo they be foreigners: But I beg of you at length, to ſpare your own Friends, and if not all your own, becauſe, it may be, you judge that to be grievous and burdenſome, if you ſhould ſpare them all; have Compaſſion, at leaſt, on thoſe of your Acquaintance, who have preferr'd you, not only before their Kindred and Neighbours, but before all the deareſt and neareſt Relations in the World. But what ſhould I mention Relations and Children? They have lov'd you more than their Souls, and all their future hopes, for which they are not to be commended; and he who has done ſo, do's acknowledge his Miſtake. But what is it to you, who were the Occaſion and Subject of the Miſtake? You are certainly the more indebted, becauſe he offended no otherwiſe but by loving you too much. He was blinded with the Affection he had for you, and was mark'd and check'd by every body for it. But you, however, are ſo much the more oblig'd to him, becauſe he ſuffer'd himſelf to be blam'd by all Mankind, purely out of Love to you.

XI. What

XI. What is there now among the Barbarous *Goths* like this? Who injures thoſe that love them? Who perſecutes thoſe who reſpect them? Or whoſe Throat is cut by the Sword of his Friend? You purſue thoſe who love you, you cut off the Hands of thoſe who bring you Preſents, and ſlay your deareſt Friends that reſpect you, and yet do not fear, do not tremble! What would you do if you did not perceive God's preſent Judgment, even in this next Correction of you? Beſide you add and heap up new Wickedneſſes to your former Crimes. Conſider, and think what Puniſhment waits for you, who are committing Sins of the larger Size, when the leſſer have been ſeverely chaſtiſed, even by evil Spirits. We deſire for the preſent you would be ſatisfied with the pillaging of your Friends and Companions; let it content you to have tormented the Poor, and to have robb'd even the very Beggars; there is not a Soul near you, but has his Fears; no body can be ſecure. The headlong Torrents from the rocky Alps, or the Fire made wild by Winds, are much more tolerable. The ſinking Seamen are not ſo nimbly ſwallow'd by *Charybdis*, nor devour'd, as the Saying is, by *Scylla*'s Dogs. You forceably thruſt out your Neighbours from their poor little Poſſeſſions, and your Kindred from their Houſes and Eſtates. What, as the Scripture ſays, *Would you be plac'd alone in the midſt of the Earth?* But this is the thing you can never attain to. For altho' you ſeize upon all you can, and run over all you can, yet you will always have a

Iſa. 5. v. 8.

Neighbour;

Neighbour. I beſeech you, have a little Regard for ſome others, whom you your ſelf, whether you will or no, do reſpect. Regard others, whom, whether you will or no, you admire. They are above the reſt in Honour, and equal to them in Worth and Reputation; they are greater by their Power, but leſſer by their Humility. You, to whom I am now ſpeaking, know well enough, of whom I ſpeak; and you, the ſame, of whom I am now Complaining, ought to acknowledge him, whom I am thus deſervedly Commending; And I wiſh there were many ſuch who deſerv'd ſuch Commendation; For the Excellencies of many might be the Saving of All. But granting, that you have not a mind to be commended, why, I pray you, do you deſire to be condemn'd? Why is nothing ſo grateful to you as Injuſtice, why nothing ſo pleaſing as Avarice, and nothing ſo dear as Extortion? Why do you prize nothing of equal Value with Naughtineſs, nor think any thing ſo Excellent as Rapine? Learn at leaſt from a Heathen, what is the ſolid Good. *You ſhould*, ſays he, *be defended by Love and good Will, and not by Arms.* You are therefore miſtaken in your Notions, the Baſeneſs of your blind and deprav'd Underſtanding deceives you. If you would be blameleſs, Powerful, and truly Great, you ſhould ſurmount all others in vertuous Actions, not in Oppreſſion and Injuſtice. I have formerly read in ſome place or other: *No one is a bad Man, but who at the ſame time is a Fool; for if he were wiſe, he had much rather*

ther be good. Do you then, if it be yet poſſible for you to return to your right Wits, leave off your ill Doings, if ever you hope to attain true Wiſdom. For if ever you deſire either to be really wiſe, or in your right mind, you muſt entirely change and put off your ſelf. Remove your ſelf then from your ſelf, that you be not rejected by Chriſt. Caſt off your ſelf, that you may be receiv'd by Chriſt. Deſtroy even your ſelf to prevent your periſhing. *For whoſoever*, ſays our Saviour, *will loſe his Life for my ſake, the ſame ſhall find it.* Fall in love then with this ſo wholeſome Perdition, that you may thereby obtain the true Salvation. For you muſt never expect to be ſaved by God, unleſs you firſt of all condemn your ſelf.

Luke 9. v. 24.

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK VI.

How One Man's Crime hurts and wounds many. Of barbarous Sights which defile the Minds of Beholders. Of the Impurity of the Theatres, when we may be merry; and how far it is lawful. Of Sin, how offenſive it is to God. Of the Devil's Enchantments. How God ſometimes chaſtiſes us with Hardſhips; and ſometimes he indulges us with Tranquility and Eaſe.

How one Man's Crime hurts and wounds many.

I Have been diſcourſing a long time to particular Perſons; and may ſeem to have exceeded the Bounds of a regular Diſputation. For whoſoever reads theſe Papers (if yet there be any one, who for Chriſt's ſake will read what I have writ out of Love to Chriſt) he do's undoubtedly perhaps think or ſay of me: Since the Cauſe that he handles is a General one, what does it make to his purpoſe to have ſaid ſo much of particular Parties? Granting, that he of whom he ſpoke, is ſuch a one as he took him to be: Does one Man's Fault wound another's Innocence, or, which is much more, valid,

valid, is the Cauſe of all hurt by the perſonal Crimes of one Man? I could ſhew by plain
Joſhua 7. Examples that it do's ſuffer by it. For *Achan* long ſince took privily away ſomewhat of the curſed Thing, and the Sin of this one Man was puniſh'd upon all. *David* commanded
2 Sam. 2. that the People of *Iſrael* ſhould be numbred, and the Lord ſeverely chaſtis'd the Fault with
Iſa. 36. the Slaughter of the whole People. *Rabſhakeh* ſpoke ſome things to the diſhonour of God, and he ſlew a hundred eighty five thouſand Men, becauſe the malapert Tongue of one prophane Wretch had blaſphem'd. And therefore 'tis with good Reaſon that the bleſſed Apoſtle St. *Paul* orders the corrupt Perſon to be caſt out of the Church, and gives a Reaſon, when he ſays, *Know ye not that a little leaven leaven-*
1 Cor. 5. v. 6. *eth the whole Lump.* And hence we plainly ſee, that one wicked Man has often been the Deſtruction of many others. And thus my Reader may pleaſe to underſtand, that it was not to no purpoſe that I had ſaid ſo much above of one wicked Perſon, ſeeing we read that the divine Vengeance has been very often kindled by the Offences of one. But I am not ſo ſtrait lac'd as to ſtick upon this: For it is not at all neceſſary to ſuppoſe that any one Man in this Caſe injures all, when all injure each other alike. It is not fit I ſhould think that All are endanger'd by One, when all, of their own accord run ſingly into Danger. For all hurry to Deſtruction, or at leaſt, to ſpeak in milder terms, almoſt all. And what good is it to the Chriſtians that the Number of the

Bad

Bad was leſs, or at leaſt the ſame with that of the Good? This is a miſerable Buſineſs, and to be extreamly bemoan'd and lamented! How unlike are Chriſtian People now even to themſelves, that is, from what they have been formerly! Then St. *Peter*, the Chief of the Apoſtles, with a word ſlew *Ananias* and *Saphyra* for telling of a Lye. And the bleſſed St. *Paul* threw out of the Church an inceſtuous Perſon, leaſt by his nearneſs, he might infect many. But now we are ſatisfied to have an equal Number of both among us. But what do I ſay, ſatisfied? We ought rather to triumph and leap for Joy, if we could but once arrive to that Equality. Behold, to what a paſs we are come, how low we are dropp'd after that Purity of Chriſtianity: Behold, we are reduc'd to that, that we ſhould judge the Church happy, if it had only ſo many good People in it as it has bad ones. For how ſhould we not eſteem it happy, if we had but one half innocent, ſince we now bemoan the ſinfulneſs of almoſt All? So that indeed, ſeeing Matters are thus, 'twas to little purpoſe that I ſaid ſo much before of one wicked Perſon; 'twas in vain that I lamented the Iniquities of a ſingle Party. For either all, or almoſt all are to be bemoan'd and lamented. For moſt are either ſuch, or certainly, which is as culpable, deſire to be ſuch, and labour as much as they can by their evil Actions not to be thought behind them, and for that Reaſon, altho' they commit leſſer Ills, becauſe their Abilities are leſs, yet they are not at all the leſs wicked, becauſe they would

Acts 5.

1. *Cor.* 5.

would be as great as the others, if it were in their Power. So that they do what is in their Power, and are as bad as the others in Desire, Will, and good Wishes, and as far as their Fortunes will admit, endeavour to out-do them: For there is the same Emulation, altho' in quite different things, between these Men, as there is between good Men; for as the Good desire to overcome all others in the Rectitude and Honesty of their Minds, so these covet to master all others in the Irregularity and Wickedness of theirs. And as it is the Glory of all good Men to become daily better and better, so it is the Pride of all bad ones to become worse and worse; and as the best Men covet to ascend the highest Pitch of all manner of Vertues, so the worst Men desire the Prize of being Victors in all manner of Vices. But all this is to our Damage, to ours who are Christians, who, as I have said before, take Wickedness for Wisdom, and of whom God speaks in an especial manner; *I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the Understanding of the Prudent.* And when the Apostle cries: *If any man among you seemeth to be wise, let him become a fool that he may be wise*: As much as to say, If any one will be wise, let him be good, because no one is truly wise but who is truly good; we on the contrary, by the depravation of our wicked Minds, and, as God's Word says, by *a reprobate Sense*, rejecting Goodness for Folly, and embracing Wickedness for Wisdom, believe our selves to grow every day more wise by how much we become more wicked.

1. *Cor.* 1. *v.* 19.

1. *Cor* 3. *v.* 18.

Rom. 1.

II. What

II. What hope is there then of amendment in us, who are not led to what is evil by any miſtaken Opinion, but who take a great deal of pains thro' the Corruption of our deprav'd Wills, that we may always appear to be very bad? And hence it is that I have all along complain'd that we are much worſe than the *Barbarians*: For the Ignorance of the Law excuſes them, whilſt the Knowledge of it, condemns us. They thro' their Unskilfulneſs in the Truth, becauſe they know not thoſe things that are good, embrace the Evil inſtead of the Good; We, tho' we have the Knowledge of the Truth, and know very well what is good,

(*) * * * * * * * *

(*) *Somewhat here loſt from the Original.*

Of barbarous Sights which defile the Minds of Beholders.

In the firſt place, there is almoſt nothing either ſinful or heinous which is not in the publick Shews; where it is the greateſt Pleaſure imaginable to have Men die upon the Spot, or which is more grievous and cruel than Death, to have them torn in pieces, and the Paunches of wild Beaſts to be gorg'd with the Fleſh of them, to have Men eaten, to the great Pleaſure of the Standers by, and the Satisfaction of the Beholders, which is, to be devour'd by the Eyes of Men, as well as by the Teeth of Beaſts. And to keep theſe up, the whole World is at Expence. There is all the Care and Pains that can be taken about them. The privateſt Places are applied to; Groves never paſs'd before are view'd, the thickeſt Woods are gone through, the cloudy Alps are climb'd, and ſnowy Vallies penetrated; and that Men's

Bowels may be devour'd by Beasts, the World and Nature's Secrets, are all ransack'd. But these things, say you, are not always done. A very admirable excuse of the Folly, that they are not always done. As if what is offensive to God ought to be done at any time, or that bad things were therefore well done, because they were not always done. Rogues and Bandity do not always murder, and yet they are Murderers notwithstanding, even when they do not commit the Fact, because they are sometimes defil'd with Murder. And high-way Men are not always upon the Pad, and yet they do not by that cease to be high-way Men, because, altho' they do not actually rob any one of his Goods, yet their minds are still ruminating upon their Robberies. So all those, who are delighted with these sort of Sights, even when they do not see them, are not free from the Guilt of those Sights, because they would always see them, if they could. But this is not all, there are greater Things than these. For, are not young Fowls fed for the Consuls after the manner of the Gentile Sacrilege, and Auguries taken from their flying, and almost all the other Follies acted, which even the old Pagans themselves look'd upon as ridiculous and childish? And when they do all this, who give names to our Years, and from whom the Years themselves take their Beginning, can we think that ever our Years can succeed well, which take their Beginning from such things as these? And I could wish, that as these things are done only for the Consuls, that they defiled

filed only those, for whom they are done. For it is lamentable and grievous, that whilst these Things are done by publick Consent, the Honour of a very few becomes the Crime of all; and as there are two elected and admitted each Year, it is almost so, that no one in the whole World can escape.

III. But let us suppose that there is enough said of those things, which, as you excuse them, are not done daily. And let us speak of the Uncleannesses acted every day, of which Legions of Devils have found out such Sorts, and such Numbers, that even the honestest and best Tempers, altho' they may despise and trample upon some, yet they will scarce ever be able to overcome all. For as two Armies about to engage, are said either to cut Ditches, drive Stakes, or other sharp Instruments in the Passages through which they expect their Enemies to pass, not with design that each Enemy should fall into them all, but yet that no one should wholly escape them, even so the Devils have laid so many Snares, Baits, and Enticements for Mankind in this Life, that altho' a Man get quit of many of them, yet he is certainly snapp'd one way or other. It would be tedious to speak of them all, as of the (a) Amphitheatres, Musick-rooms, Gaming-Houses, Shews, Wrestling, Tumblings, Mimickries, and the other Monsters, which it grieves me to speak of, because I am sorry ever to have known so much Wickedness; I shall only speak of the Impurities of the (b) Cirques and Theatres. For the Things are such which

of the Impurity of the Theatres.

(a) *See* Kennet's *Roman Antiquities for all these.*

(b) *The places where the* Romans *exhibited their Shews to the People.*

are acted there, that a Man cannot not only ſpeak of, but even remember them without defileing himſelf. As for other Crimes, they ſeem only to claim ſome particular Portion in us, as baſe Thoughts the Mind, unchaſt Looks the Eyes, and idle Talk the Ears; ſo that when any one of theſe is faulty, the reſt may be free from Offence. But in the Theatre there is not one of them guiltleſs, our Mind is polluted with Luſts, our Ears by Hearing, and our Eyes by Seeing. All which are ſo very wicked, that one cannot explain, or ſet them forth with common Modeſty. For who with ſafety to his Modeſty, can tell their Repreſentations of filthy Things, the Obſcenity of their Words and Voices, the unſeemlineſs of their Motions, and the uncleanneſs of their Geſtures? The heinouſneſs of which may hence be gueſs'd, becauſe they will not bear the relating. Some even of the greateſt Villainies may be nam'd and reprov'd, without touching the Honour of him who mentions them, ſuch as Murder, Theft, Adultery, Sacrilege, and others in like manner. 'Tis only the Impurities of the Theatres, which cannot with Decency be ſo much as accus'd. So that it happens pretty odly to him who would reprove the Baſeneſs of ſuch Uncleanneſs; for certainly he is an honeſt Man, who would offer to accuſe them, but then if he will keep his Honeſty entire, he can neither ſpeak to, nor accuſe them. All other Wickedneſſes defile the Actors, not the Seers, or the Hearers. So altho' you chance to hear one blaſpheme, you are not polluted with the Sacrilege, becauſe your Heart diſſents from

from it: And ſo if you chance to be preſent at a Robbery, you are not ſtain'd by the Fact, becauſe you abhor it inwardly. They are only the Uncleanneſſes of publick Sights, which make the Actors and Spectators culpable alike. For whilſt thoſe who ſee them do approve, and ſee them willingly, they do All by ſuch Sight and Approbation, act them. So that that of the Apoſtle do's truly, in a peculiar manner, fall upon them, that *they are worthy of death, not only they who do ſuch things, but alſo they who conſent, and have pleaſure in them that do them.* Rom. 1. v. 32. And therefore in the Repreſentations of Fornication, all the whole Body of the People are mental Fornicators; and they who, it may be, came clean to the Play, return Adulterers from the Theatre. But it is not only then, when they return, that they are Fornicators, but even when they come. For, for that very Reaſon that any one deſires an obſcene Thing, whilſt he haſtens to ſuch Uncleanneſs, he is unclean.

IV. Things being thus, loe what are the Actions of all the *Romans*, or at leaſt of almoſt all. And ſince they are ſuch, we who do theſe fine things complain, that we are neglected by Heaven, and ſay that we are deſerted by our God, when 'tis we our ſelves that leave him. For let us ſuppoſe that our Lord had a mind to regard us, tho' we do not deſerve it; let us ſee whether he could do it. There are many thouſands of Chriſtians every day at the beaſtly publick Shews. Can God, think we, look upon ſuch People as they are? Can he regard thoſe, who revel in the Cirque, and

fornicate in the Theatres? Or have we a mind, and think it very fitting, that when God beholds us in the Cirques and Theatres, he ſhould be a Spectator of the Sights together with us, and ſhould look upon all the Uncleanneſſes of the place, as well as our ſelves? One of the two muſt neceſſarily be done. For if he vouchſafes to behold us, it follows, that he muſt likewiſe behold the things where we are; or if, which is moſt certain, he turns away his eyes from them, he turns them likewiſe from us, who are preſent at them. And tho' matters are thus, yet we do all this that I have mention'd, and that without ceaſing. What do we think, we have ſuch a God as the old Pagan Theatres and Cirques had? For they did all theſe things heretofore, becauſe they thought they were very pleaſing to their Idols. But on what account can we pretend to do theſe things, who certainly know that they are odious to our God? Or at leaſt, if we are ſure that theſe Filthineſſes are pleaſing to God, I am not againſt the continual acting of them. But then, if we find in our own Conſciences, that this is what God abhors, that he abominates them; that as there is in them the repaſt of the Devil, ſo they are an Abuſe to God; how do we pretend we worſhip God in His Church, when we are continually ſerving the Devil in theſe obſcene Plays, and that wittingly, and knowingly, adviſedly, and on ſet purpoſe? And what hope and confidence then can we have in God, who offend him, not by Accident or Imprudence, but like thoſe antient Gyants,

Gyants, who, we read, madly attempted Heaven, and endeavoured to step into the Clouds. So we by the Affronts, which all over the World we offer to God, do, as by universal Consent offer Violence to Heaven. To Christ then (O prodigious Madness) to Christ, we offer the Games of the Cirque and Mimickries; and then chiefly when we have receiv'd some Favour from him, some Blessing is bestowed upon us, or when he has given us Victory over our Enemies. And what is this but to offer Injuries to ones greatest Benefactor, or scurrilously to abuse one who treats us civilly, or to wound the very face of one who would salute us? For I desire to know of the Rich and Great Men of this World of what fault they take that Servant to be guilty, who devises Mischief against a kind and loving Master, who offers Abuses to him who deserves well of him, and for the Liberty which he has gain'd, returns only Injuries and Affronts? He will doubtless be thought guilty of the greatest Crime, who returns Evil for Good, who ought not to have return'd so much as Evil for evil. But this is what all we, who are call'd Christians, do. By our Impurities we provoke a most merciful God against us, by our Uncleanness we offend him, who has tenderness for us, and by our Injuries wound him, who obliges and courts us.

V. To Christ then (O prodigious Madness) to Christ we offer Cirque plays and Mimickries; we render to Christ, for all the Benefits we have receiv'd from him, the Filthiness of the Thea-

tres; to Christ we offer the Sacrifices of these most abominable Pastimes. Undoubtedly our Saviour became incarnate for us, that he might teach us this. Certainly he preach'd this either by himself, or his Apostles. For this he underwent the Shame of his Humane Nativity, and took upon him the debasing Principles of an earthly Birth. For this he lay in the Manger, and had Angels ministring unto Him, whilst he lay there. For this he would be wrapp'd in Swadling-Clouts, who rul'd Heaven in Robes of Glory. For this he hung upon the Cross, whom all the World, even hanging dreaded. *Who*, says the Apostle, *though he was rich, yet for our sakes, he became poor, that we through his Poverty might be rich. And* 2 Cor. 8. v. 9. *when*, says he, *he was in the Form of God, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.* Phil. 2. v. 6, 8. To be sure Christ instructed us in these Matters, when he underwent all these things for our sakes. We make most admirable Returns to His Passion, who having receiv'd Redemption by His Death, requite him with a most Scandalous Life. *For the Grace of God*, says the blessed St. *Paul*, *hath appear'd to all Men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present World, looking for that blessed Hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purifie unto himself a peculiar People zealous of good works.* Titus 2. v. 11, 12, 13, 14. Where are they who do these things,

things, for the which, the Apoſtle ſays, Chriſt came into the World: Where are they that deny worldly Luſts; where are they who live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly, where are they, who by their good Deeds ſhew, that they look for that bleſſed Hope; and by the Innocence of their Lives demonſtrate, that they for that Reaſon, expect the Kingdom of God, becauſe they are fit and qualified to deſerve to receive it? Our Lord JESUS CHRIST came, he ſays, *to purifie unto himſelf a peculiar People zealous of good works.* Where is that pure People, where is that acceptable People, where are the People of good works, the People of true Holineſs? *Chriſt*, ſays the holy Scripture, *ſuffer'd for us, leaving us an Example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps.* I warrant you we follow our Saviour's Steps in the Cirques, we follow the Steps of our Saviour in the Theatres. Chriſt, no doubt, left us ſuch an Example, whom we read to have wept, but we never read that he laugh'd: for Weeping is the Compunction of the Soul, Laughter the Corruption of Diſcipline. And therefore he ſays: *Woe unto you that laugh, for ye ſhall mourn and weep.* And, *Bleſſed are ye that weep, for ye ſhall laugh.* But we are not contented to laugh and rejoyce, unleſs our Joy be mad and ſinful; unleſs our Mirth be mixt with Impurities and Miſchief.

1 Pet. 2. v. 21.

Luk. 6. v. 25. v. 21.

VI. Pray then, what kind of Error, what kind of Folly is this? What, cannot we have a conſtant Scene of Merriment and Laughter, unleſs we make our Mirth and Joy become a Sin?

When we maybe merry, and how far it is lawful.

Sin? What, do we take innocent Jollity to be fruitleſs, nor can't we be merry without being wicked? What Miſchief, or rather, what Madneſs is this? Be merry in God's Name, as exceſſively as you pleaſe; laugh till you are weary, ſo that you do it innocently. What Folly and Frenzy is it, that we do not value any Mirth or Pleaſantry, unleſs it carries in it ſome Affront to our Maker? Nay and the greateſt Affront that poſſibly can be. For in the publick Shews, there is a kind of Apoſtatizing from the Faith and its Pledges, and a mortal Prevarication from the Divine Sacraments. For what is the firſt thing that Chriſtians profeſs in their Baptiſm to Salvation? What elſe, but that they vow to renounce the Devil, his Pomps, Shews, and Works? And therefore theſe Pomps and Shews, even according to our own Profeſſion, are the works of the Devil. How then, O Chriſtian, do you follow theſe Spectacles after your Baptiſm, which you confeſs to be the works of the Devil? You have once renounc'd the Devil and all his Shews; ſo that you muſt neceſſarily know, that when you return to theſe Shews, that you do wittingly and knowingly return to the Devil. For you have once renounced them both, and have owned that one is both. If therefore you cloſe with one, you return to both. For you ſay, *I renounce the Devil, his Pomps, Shews and Works.* And what after? You ſay, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jeſus Chriſt his Son,* So that the Devil is in the firſt place renounced, that we may believe

lieve in God: For he who do's not renounce the Devil does not believe in God; and therefore, whoever returns to the Devil, deſerts God: But the Devil is in his Sights and Shews, and therefore, when we return to theſe Shews, we quit our Chriſtian Faith. And thus all the Articles of our Creed are weakned; nothing that follows after, but what ſtaggers and falters. For if the Foundation do's not hold, nothing that is conſequent to it can ſtand. Tell me then, you Chriſtian, how you can pretend to adhere to the following Parts of your Creed, when you have deſtroy'd the Foundations of it? The Members without the Head are nothing worth, and all the Articles depend upon their Principals, which if they fail, all the reſt fall of courſe. For if you take away the Foundation, the reſt remain not all, or if they do, 'tis to no Advantage, becauſe they are nothing worth without their Head. If then the Sin of frequenting theſe Sights ſeem little to any one, let him conſider all I have ſaid upon it; and he will ſee, that there is not pleaſure in theſe Sights, but Death. For what is it elſe to loſe the Fountain of Life, but to incur Death? For where the Foundation of the Creed is ſubverted, Life it ſelf is entirely deſtroy'd.

VII. I cannot forbear therefore to return to what I have ſaid often before: What is there like this among the *Barbarians*, where are there any Cirque-Games among them, where are their Theatres, where is the Abomination of all kind of Impurities, that is, the Deſtruction of our Hopes and Salvation? And

And altho' they, as *Pagans*, did make uſe of all theſe, yet their Error would be much leſs culpable in the Sight of God; becauſe, although there would be uncleanneſs in the ſeeing of them, yet there would be no Breach of a (c) ſacred Obligation. But as to us, what can we anſwer for our ſelves? We hold the Creed, and yet deſtroy it; we confeſs the Gift of Salvation, and at the ſame time deny it. And where is our Chriſtianity this while, who have receiv'd the Sacrament of Salvation to no other purpoſe, but that we might tranſgreſs afterward with greater Sin and Wickedneſs? We prefer Plays before the Churches of God, we deſpiſe the Altars, and honour the Theatres; We love them all, we reſpect them all: 'Tis only God Almighty who ſeems little to us, in compariſon of them all. For beſide many other Things, which ſhew it, this which I am going to ſay, do's ſufficiently prove it. If at any time it chances, which it often do's, that on the ſame day, there is a Church-Feſtival, and publick Plays, I deſire to ask of every Man's Conſcience, which of the two Places has the greater Congregation of Chriſtians in it, the Seats of the publick Play, or the Court of God, and whether All rather follow the Temple or the Theatre; and whether they love the Words of the Goſpel more, or thoſe of the Players, the words of Life, or the words of Death; the words of Chriſt, or the words of a Mimical Actor? For on every day of theſe deadly Sports, if there happen to be any Feaſts of the Church, they who call themſelves Chriſtians, do

(c) *Or Baptiſmal Vow.*

do not only not come to Church, but if by chance, not having heard of any ſuch thing, they have come, as ſoon as ever they hear there are Plays, they preſently leave the Church. The Church of God is deſpis'd, that they may haſte to the Play-houſe: The Church is emptied, the Cirque filled. We leave Chriſt on the Altar, that we may feed our Eyes that run a Whoring after the unclean Sights, with the Fornication of thoſe filthy Paſtimes. * * * * * * * * * (*) *Somewhat wanting here, and confuſed in the Author.*

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VIII. But it may be anſwer'd to this, that theſe things are not done in all the Cities of the *Romans*. Right; And I can ſay further, that they are not now acted there, where they have formerly been always acted. For there is no ſuch thing now in the City (d) *Moguntia*, but becauſe 'tis ras'd and deſtroy'd. They are not acted at (e) *Agrippina*; but becauſe 'tis full of Enemies. They are not acted at the Great City of (f) *Treveris*; but becauſe it has been four times demoliſh'd: And laſtly, they are not acted in very many Cities of *Gaul* and *Spain*. And therefore woe be to us, and our Impurities; woe be to us and our Iniquities. What hope is there for Chriſtians in the Preſence of God, ſince that theſe Wickedneſſes have not been in the *Roman* Cities, ſince the time they fell under the Power of the *Barbarians*? So that Vice and Impurity are a Sort of quality peculiar to the *Romans*, and are as their

(d) Mentz. (e) Colen. (f) Triers.

their very Soul and Nature; for there does Vice particularly reign, wherefoever there are *Romans*. But this is perhaps a heavy and an unjuſt Complaint. 'Twere a heavy one indeed, if 'twere falſe. But how do you ſay; how, not falſe? When, what we have ſpoken of, is now done only in very few *Roman* Cities, and there are a great many which are not at all ſpotted with ſuch Impurities, where, tho' indeed, the Places and Conveniences of their former Error remain; yet they are not at all made uſe of to the ſame purpoſes as formerly? Therefore both Matters are to be conſider'd, that is, how it comes that the Places and Play-houſes remain, but the Sports and Paſtimes have ceas'd to be? As to the Places, they are as yet Neſts of Filthineſs, becauſe all Impurity has been there formerly acted. And for the Plays, they are not now acted, becauſe the Miſery and Poverty of the Times is ſo Great, that they cannot be. And therefore what was formerly done, was out of pure Vice, and that it is not now as formerly, is meer Neceſſity. For the Poverty and Lowneſs of the *Roman* Treaſury and Exchequer, cannot allow that extravagant Expences ſhould be every where laviſh'd upon ſuch Trifles. But let them yet ſquander as much as they can, and throw it even to the Dunghill, yet for their Hearts they cannot waſte ſo much as they have done; becauſe there is not ſo much left for them. For as to the Deſire of our Luſts and impure Delight, we could wiſh with our Souls, that we had more, that we might convert more of it

to

to these filthy, dirty Pleasures. And 'tis plain, how much we would squander, if we were rich and wealthy, when we are even Beggars, and yet lavish so much. For so great is the Corruption and Looseness of our present Manners, that altho' our Poverty has not wherewithal to spend, yet the Viciousness of our Tempers would fain squander more. We have little Reason therefore to flatter our selves in this Case, by saying, that those things are not done in all Cities now, which have been formerly done. For they are not therefore now done in all, because the Cities where they have been formerly acted, are not now in being; and where they have been long acted, they have so manag'd it, that they cannot be even where they formerly were; as God himself by the Prophet spoke to the Sinners, For *the Lord remembred them*: says he, *and it came into his mind*; *so that the Lord could no longer bear, because of the evil of your doings, and because of the abominations which you have committed: therefore is your Land a desolation, and an astonishment, and a curse.* *Jer.* 24. *v.* 21, 22. And by these Doings it is come to pass, that the greater part of the *Roman* World should be for a Desolation, and an Astonishment, and a Curse.

IX. And I would to God these things had only been done formerly, and that the vicious *Romans*, would some time leave off to do them. It may be, as the Scripture says, God might have mercy upon our Sins, But we do not act as tho' we desir'd he should have mercy upon us. For we continually add evil to evil, and heap

heap one Sin upon the head of another, and when the greateſt part of us have already periſh'd, we do what we can that we may periſh all. I deſire to know who ſees another ſlain near him, and is not himſelf afraid? Who ſees his Neighbour's Houſe on fire, and do's not endeavour by all means he can that he himſelf be not conſum'd in the Flames? We have ſeen not only our Neighbours burn, but have felt the Flames in the greateſt part of our Bodies. But, O ſtrange! What Misfortune is this? We burn, we burn, and yet do not dread the Flames that burns us. For that theſe things, as I ſaid, are not acted every where as formerly, is owing to our Miſery, not our Conduct. And I can eaſily prove it. For put us but in the Condition we formerly were, and you ſhall preſently find all things every where as they were. Nay further, altho' they are not now in reality every where, as far as Men's Wiſhes can make them, they are every where, becauſe the *Roman* People would willingly have them every where. For when a Man is kept back from doing an evil Thing, meerly out of pure Neceſſity, the very Deſire of doing the Wickedneſs is condemn'd inſtead of the Action. For, as I ſaid, according to that Saying of our Lord, *He who looketh upon a Woman to luſt after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart.* We may underſtand that altho' we do not commit filthy and baſe Actions out of Neceſſity, yet we are condemn'd for the having had an hearty Deſire to the commiſſion of them. But what do I ſpeak of a Deſire,

Matth. 5. *v.* 28.

almoſt

almoſt all commit them, when they have opportunity. Nay when the Inhabitants of any City whatever come to *Ravenna* or *Rome*, they make a part of the *Romans* in the Cirque, and a part of the People of *Ravenna* in the Theatre. So that by this means, no man by abſence or diſtance can think himſelf excus'd. The filthineſs of the Things makes them all one, who are joyn'd to each other in the Deſire of thoſe filthy Things. And yet we ſooth our ſelves with the Integrity of our Morals, and flatter our ſelves with the Rarity of Uncleanneſſes. But I affirm, that not only thoſe infamous contagious Paſtimes which were formerly acted, are now in Being; but that they are acted with much more Guilt than formerly. For then the Parts of the *Roman* World were entire and flouriſh'd, the Publick Riches crowded the Store-houſes, the Citizens of every City ſwam in Delights and Plenty; the Authority of Religion, amidſt ſo great Abundance of all Things, could ſcarce preſerve a Diſcipline and Order. Inventors of idle Paſtimes were then maintain'd in many places, but then all places were full and crowded: No body thought of the Coſt and Charge of the Publick, becauſe the Expence was never felt. The Publick rather ſought where to conſume what its own Store-houſes could ſcarce contain. And ſo the heap of Riches, which exceeded almoſt all Meaſure, overflowed upon thoſe Trifles. But now what can be ſaid? Our former Plenty is departed. Times and Eſtates are alter'd, and we are became miſera-

bly poor, and yet we do not ceaſe to be trifling. And when Poverty uſed to cure the greateſt Prodigals and Spend-thrifts; ſo that as ſoon as ever they leave off to be rich, they forthwith forſake their Vices; 'tis only we that are a new ſort of Spendthrifts and Rakehells, whom Riches has forſaken, and yet our Wickedneſs remains. So that we have not, like other Men, the Occaſions of our Immoralities in Temptations, but in our own hearts; and our own inward Man is the Cauſe of all our Naughtineſs; we are not to be amended by the taking away of our Eſtates, ſince we ſin out of pure Love and Affection to the evil Things themſelves.

Of Sin, how offenſive it is to God.

X. Altho' I have already ſpoken ſufficiently of the great Vices of the *Romans*, with which the barbarous Nations are not defil'd, yet I will add many that are wanting. But I give this Advertiſement before I begin, *That no Fault whatever ſeem little to any one, by which the Great God of Heaven is offended.* For if it is not by any Means permitted to any one to diſhonour a Noble and Illuſtrious Perſon, and if any one does abuſe ſueh a one, he is ſubject to a Tryal for the ſame, and to be legally condemn'd for the Affront; how much greater a Crime is it for any one to pretend to offer an Affront to his Maker? For the Fault does always riſe in proportion to the Quality of the Party who bears the Abuſe: Becauſe it is neceſſary by how much the greater the Perſon is who ſuffers the Injury, by ſo much the greater is his Fault who offers it.

And

And hence it is that we read in the Law, that even thoſe who ſeem to have done only ſome ſmall Matters againſt the Divine Command, were yet moſt ſeverely puniſh'd. That we might underſtand from thence, that nothing relating to God ought to be eſteem'd light. For even that which ſeem'd to be little, as to the Fault, the Affront thereby offer'd to God made very great. But what did *Uzzah* the *Levite* commit againſt God's Commandment, in endeavouring to ſave the Ark of God from falling? For there was nothing of that matter commanded in the Law. Yet while he ſupported it, he was ſmitten dead, not, as it ſhould ſeem that in any particular he had done any thing out of an obſtinate or undutiful Heart, but by his over-officiouſneſs, he became undutiful, becauſe he preſum'd to do that, which he had no Command for. A man of *Iſrael* for gathering Sticks on the Sabbath-day, was put to death, and this by the Judgment and Command of God, the moſt tender and moſt merciful Judge, and who certainly had rather ſpare than deſtroy, if the Reaſon for ſuch Severity had not been much ſtronger, than that for Mercy. For one unwary Perſon periſh'd, that many others might not afterwards be loſt for want of Caution. But what do I ſpeak of Particulars? The whole Nation of the *Jews*, when they paſs'd through the Wilderneſs, becauſe they deſir'd to have Fleſh, which they had been us'd to, loſt part of their People. And yet it was not forbidden as yet to deſire it; but, I ſuppoſe, God would by that gain advantage

Exod. 31. *Numb.* 2. & 2.

2 *Sam.* 6.

Numb. 15. v. 35.

Numb. 11.

for the obſervance of his Law, to curb their rebellious Deſires, to the intent that all the People might more eaſily acknowledge, how much they ought to avoid the Things which God had forbidden in the holy Scriptures, when they found they receiv'd ſo much Damage by doing what he had not as yet forbidden by any Expreſs Law. The ſame People complain'd, that they underwent hard Labour, and are puniſh'd for it by Plagues from Heaven; not that it is not lawful for any one who is oppreſs'd, to groan and complain; but this was a ſort of an ungrateful Groaning, which accus'd God, as the Author of their exceſſive Labour. By which we ought to underſtand, how much thoſe who enjoy the Bleſſing of Proſperity ought to pleaſe God, when we may not ſo much as complain of thoſe things which ſeem ungrateful and uneaſy to us.

Exod. 1.

Of the Devil's Enchantments.

XI. But perhaps it is ask'd what the Meaning of all this is? What elſe ſhould it be but to ſhew, that nothing ought to be eſteem'd light, by which God is offended. For I ſpeak of theſe publick Plays, the Mockery's of our Hope, and the Cheats of our Lives. For whilſt we divert our ſelves in the Theatres and Cirques, we periſh, according to that Saying of the Holy Scripture; *It is a Sport to a Fool to do miſchief.* And ſo we in like manner, when we ſpoil our ſelves among thoſe filthy and diſgraceful Sights, commit wickedneſs, and thoſe not of the leſſer Sort, but much more penal for this Reaſon, becauſe tho' they ſeem outwardly to be innocent, yet they are moſt

Prov. 10. *v.* 23.

moſt peſtilent and pernicious. For ſince there are two the greateſt of Evils, that is, if a Man either deſtroy himſelf, or offend God, both theſe are done in the Publick Plays. For the eternal Salvation of Chriſtian People is there deſtroy'd by their ſcandalous Uncleanneſſes; and the Majeſty of God prophan'd by their ſacrilegious Superſtitions: For there is no doubt but they offend God, ſince they are conſecrated to Idols. For *Minerva* is worſhip'd and honour'd in their places for Exerciſe. *Venus* in the Theatres; *Neptune* in the Cirques, *Mars* in the (c) Sands, *Mercury* in the Wreſtling-places; and ſo according to the Quality of their Patrons, is the Superſtition of the Worſhip. Whatever uncleanneſſes can be thought of, are exercis'd in the Theatres, whatever Luxury can be nam'd in the wreſtling places; all manner of exceſs in the Cirques, and all manner of frenzy among the Crouds of Spectators. In one place there is Immodeſty, in another Laſciviouſneſs, in another Madneſs, and the Devil in them all; nay all the Devils of Hell are in every one of the Places of theſe Paſtimes. For they preſide over the Places dedicated to their Worſhip, So that in theſe ſort of Shews and Sights, there are not only Enticements and Temptations, not only Vice and Naughtineſs; For 'tis a kind of Sacrilege for a Chriſtian Man to be joyn'd to ſuch Superſtition, becauſe he communicates with their Worſhip, with whoſe Paſtime he is delighted. Which altho' it be always heinous, yet it is then much more intolerable, when be-

(c) *Of the Amphitheatre.*

ſide our ordinary Courſe of Life, either our Adverſity or Proſperity makes this more Criminal. For in our Adverſity God is the more to be reconcil'd, and in our Proſperity to be leſs offended; when he is Wrath, he ought to be pacified, and ſhould not be offended when he is appeas'd; For Adverſity comes upon us by God's Wrath, and Proſperity by his Favour. But we do all the quite contrary. You ask, it may be, how? Obſerve, and I'll tell you. And in the firſt place, if God Almighty is at any time of his own free Mercy intreated (for we never live ſo at any time, as that we deſerve to be pleaded for;) but if, as I ſaid, being intreated by Himſelf, he gives us peaceful Times, Increaſe and Plenty of all Things; Quietneſs, Riches, and Abundance, even beyond our Wiſhes or Deſires, we are only made worſe by ſuch a Series of Proſperity, and corrupted with ſuch Lewdneſs and Inſolence in our Morals, that we altogether forget both God and our ſelves. And when the Apoſtle ſays, That the Advantage of ſuch Peace granted us by God, conſiſts in this, *That we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.* We uſe the Eaſe granted us by God, only that we may live in Drunkenneſs and Luxury, in Miſchief and Rapine, and in all manner of Villany and Wickedneſs. As tho' the Benefit of ſuch Peace were only a Vacation for Naughtineſs, and we only receiv'd Quietneſs at the hand of God, that we might ſin more licenciouſly and ſecurely: We are therefore unworthy of God's Bleſſings, ſince

1 Tim. 2. 2.

since we make no better use of them, but turn that very thing into an occasion of Vice, which he design'd for an Inducement to Vertue and good Works. So that, even Peace it self, makes against us by such management of it, neither is it at all convenient for us ever to enjoy such a thing, which only makes us worse. But who would believe this? We change the very Nature of Things by our Iniquities; and what God out of His loving-kindness bestows upon us for Good, we convert into a Mischief to our selves, by the Corruption and Viciousness of our Morals.

XII. But it may be, we who are Debauch'd by Prosperity, are amended by Adversity; and those whom a long Peace had made immoderate, Troubles and Distresses have made more regular. Are any of the Inhabitants of those Cities, who were lewd in their Prosperity, become more chaste in their Adversity? Is that Drunkenness, which grew upon them in Peace and Plenty utterly ceas'd since the Ravaging of the Enemy? *Italy* is laid waste by so many Miseries. Have therefore the *Italians* left off their Vices? The City of (a) *Rome* is besieg'd and taken. Are the *Romans* for that Reason no longer Madmen and Blasphemers? The barbarous Nations have broke in upon the *Gauls*; but are not their Manners as corrupt, and their Wickedness as great as ever they were? (b) The *Vandals* are pass'd over into *Spain*. The Condition of the *Spaniards* is indeed chang'd; but not their Viciousness. And lastly, that no part of the World might

(a) *Most probably by* Vandals, *in the Year of our Lord* 454.

(b) *In the time of* Honorius.

be free from Misery and Destruction, the Wars have begun to Sail even upon the Waters; and after they had over-turn'd the Cities enclos'd by the Sea, and destroy'd (c) *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, that is, our publick Store-houses, and drain'd the Blood out of our Bodies, they seis'd upon even *Africa* it self, that is, the very Life and Soul of the Commonwealth. Well but, when these Barbarous People had entred the Country, undoubtedly they left off their Vices out of Fear at least; Or, as the basest Slaves, who dread present Correction are wont, the very Fright extorted some Modesty and Discipline from them. O who can declare their Naughtiness? When the Arms of the *Barbarians* were sounding round the Walls of *Cirta* and (d) *Carthage*, the Christians of *Carthage*, were running mad in the Cirques, and rioting in the Theatres. Whilst the Throats of some were cut without doors, others were playing the Whores and Rogues within. Part of the People without doors were made Prisoners by the Enemies, and part within were made Prisoners by their Lusts: and which of the two had the harder Fortune is uncertain. They who are without, were only made Captives in their Bodies; but they who were within were captivated in their Souls; And of two so great Evils, as I suppose, it is much easier for a Christian to bear the Captivity of his Body, than that of his Soul, according to that which our Saviour says in the Gospel, That the Loss of Souls is much greater Damage than that of the Body's. Can we think that the People were

(c) *In the Year* 440.

(d) *In the Year* 439.

Luk. 9.

were not captivated in their Souls, who could rejoyce after that manner in the Captivity of their Burthen? Were not their Hearts and Senſes captivated, who amidſt the Tortures of their Countrymen could be merry, who did not perceive that they themſelves were ſtabb'd in the Murder of their Friends, and that they died in the Death of their Neighbours? There was a Great Noiſe, as I may ſo ſay, both within and without the Walls, of Battle, and of Paſtimes; the Cry of thoſe that died, and thoſe that revell'd, was confounded; and perhaps the Groans of thoſe who fell in the Battle. could not eaſily be diſcern'd from the Noiſe of thoſe, who hollow'd in the Cirque. And by doing all theſe things, what elſe could ſuch a baſe People mean, but that ſeeing, that God thought not fit to deſtroy them at preſent, yet they would even demand their own Deſtruction from him.

XIII. But why do I ſpeak of Things ſo far off, and done in quite another Part of the World, when to my own Knowledge in my own Country, and in the Cities of *Gaul*, almoſt all the Great Men became much worſe by their Calamities. For I my ſelf have ſeen ſeveral Inhahitants of *Treveris*, Men of Birth, and of Preferments; but now pillaged and deſpoil'd of all, who were yet leſs ſhatter'd in their Fortunes, than they were in their Morals. For altho' in their plunder'd and ſtripp'd Condition, they had ſome ſmall Remnant of their Subſtance, Yet they had not one Rag of Morality. So that they were greater Foes to themſelves than

Triers.

than their foreign Enemies were, for altho' they were undone by the *Barbarians*, yet they were much more undone by themſelves. It is diſmal to relate what I have ſeen; worſhipful old Gentlemen, decrepid Chriſtians, juſt when the City was falling into the Enemies hands, indulging themſelves in Gluttony and Wantonneſs. And what ſhall I blame Chiefly in this Matter? That they were Worſhipful, that they were old Men, that they were Chriſtians, or that they were in danger? For, who would ever think ſuch a thing could be done, in the greateſt ſecurity by old Men, or in danger by young ones, or ever by Chriſtians? They lay at their Feaſts, having forgot their Honour, forgot their Years, forgot their Profeſſion, and forgot their Reputation; the Chief of the City ſtuffed with Meat, diſſolv'd in Drunkenneſs; Bawling outragiouſly, Revelling madly, quite out of their Senſes; but conſidering that they are almoſt always in that pickle, I ſhould have ſaid, being altogether in their Senſes. But matters being thus, that is more, which I am now going to ſay, that the utter Deſtruction of the Cities put no end to theſe Debaucheries. For the richeſt City of *Gaul* was four times taken: 'Tis eaſy to gueſs
Triers. which I mean. One would have thought the firſt taking might have caus'd a Reformation in it, that the renewing of its Faults might not have renew'd its Deſtruction. But to be ſhort, that which I now ſay is, ſcarce to be credited. The very continuance of their Calamities there, was the encreaſing of their Crimes.

And,

And, as old Stories tell of that Monſter of a Serpent, who encreaſed by being wounded, ſo in this moſt Famous City of *Gaul*, their Wickedneſſes encreaſed by that very Puniſhment, which kept them back from ſinning: So that you would think the chaſtiſing of their Crimes were the original of their Vices. And what ſhould I ſay more? By the daily encreaſe of hourly growing Ills, they are come to that paſs, that you may eaſily find that City without an Inhabitant, than almoſt any Inhabitant in it without a Crime. This is the condition of that City. What is there done in (a) another not far off, but almoſt as Magnificent as the other? Is not there likewiſe the ſame Ruine of Eſtates and Morals? For beſide all the reſt, when all things were fallen to pieces by thoſe two eſpecial and general Evils, Covetouſneſs and Drunkenneſs, at laſt, by their greedy Deſire of Wine, they came to that paſs, that the Chief of the City had not then riſen from their Banqueting, even when the Enemy had entred the Town. So that, I verily believe, God had a mind to ſhew them plainly the Reaſon of their Deſtruction, when they were doing that very Thing at the Minute of their Ruine, which had been the Occaſion of their utter Perdition. I ſaw there many lamentable Sights, no manner of difference between Boys and old Men: The ſame idle Jeſting, the ſame Levity. All things jumbled together, Luxury, Tippling, and Deſtruction. All did every thing alike, they play'd, got drunk, and ſo were knock'd on the Head. Old men, and of Repu-

Hydra.

(a) Agrippina *or* Colen.

Reputation play'd the Wantons in their Feasts, they had scarce strength to live, and yet were stout and lusty at the Bottle; infirm in their Walking, but robust in their Drinking: Tottering in their common gate, yet very nimble at Dancing. In short; By what I have said, 'tis plain they are come to this, that the Saying of the Son of *Syrak*; *Holy writ* is fulfilled in them: *Wine and Women make men fall away from God.* For while they drink, play, whore, and run mad, they begin to deny Christ; And we admire after all this, that such People lose their Estates, who have so long before lost their Senses. Let no one then think that 'tis only the City which is brought to ruine. For where such things as I have mention'd are acted, there the Inhabitants have perish'd, even long before they are destroy'd.

Eccles. 19. *v.* 2.

XIV. I have even now spoke of the Grand Cities. How far'd it with the other Cities in other Parts of *Gaul?* Have not they perish'd by the like Crimes of their Inhabitants? For their Iniquities press'd them so hard, that they never fear'd the Danger. They were sensible before-hand of their Captivity, and yet never dreaded it. The apprehension of danger was taken from them, lest they should fence against it. So that when the *Barbarians* were even in Sight, the People had not fear upon them, nor ever guarded the Cities. So great was the Blindness of their Minds, or rather of their Sins, that when 'tis certain not one of them was willing to die, yet not one of them did any thing to prevent his own Destruction.

They

They were altogether Careleſneſs and Lazineſs it ſelf, Negligence and Gluttony; Drunkenneſs and Drowzineſs had poſſeſs'd them All, according to what the Scripture ſays of ſuch Men; *that a deep ſleep from the Lord was fallen upon them.* The deep ſleep was laid upon them, that their Deſtruction might follow. For when, as it is written, a Sinner having compleated his Iniquities, deſerves to periſh, all fore-ſight is taken from him, leſt by the help of that, he ſhould eſcape. But enough on this head. For, I ſuppoſe, I have ſufficiently prov'd what I undertook, *viz.* that even in the utmoſt Danger, the Debaucheries of the Citizens never ceas'd, to the very Minute of the Deſtruction of the Cities.

1 *Sam.* 26. *v.* 12.

Gen. 15. *v.* 16.

XV. It may be ſuch things as theſe have been, but now they are not, or will ceaſe ever to be. And if any either City or Province is at this day either viſited with Plagues from Heaven, or laid waſte by an Enemy, it is Humbled, Converted and Amended, and it is not the Temper of all the *Romans* in general ſooner to Periſh, than be reform'd, and rather to leave off Being, than not be in their Sins. That may eaſily be ſeen in the three Succeſſive Deſtructions of the greateſt (e) City of *Gaul*: when all the City was but as one Grave, their Evils increaſing even after their Ruin. For thoſe whom the Enemy had not deſtroy'd in its overthrow, Miſery deſtroyed afterwards. And that which had eſcap'd Death in the taking of it, cou'd not afterwards ſurvive the diſtreſs. For ſome died lingring

(e) Triers.

Deaths

Deaths of deep Wounds. Others after the fireing the Town, were tortur'd and burn'd by the Enemy; Some died of Famine, others of Nakedneſs, ſome waſted away, and others were Starv'd. So they all came to the ſame Stage of Death by different ways of dying. And in ſhort, Other Cities were Annoyed by the Ruine of this One. For the Naked dead Bodies of both Sexes, lay ſcatter'd abroad every where, I my ſelf have ſeen, and endur'd it, defiling the Eyes of the City, torn piecemeal, and devour'd by Birds and Dogs. The infectious ſtanch of the Dead, caus'd a Peſtilence among the Living. Death was exhaled from Death: So that they who were not preſent at the Ruine of the foreſaid City, bore the Misfortunes of its Deſtruction. And what I pray you followed after all this? Why ſuch a Madneſs, as is not eaſily to be thought of. Thoſe few Great Ones, who ſurviv'd the Ruines, deſir'd of the *Emperors, as the only Remedy of their ras'd City, that they might have Cirque-Games there. O that I had in this Place Rhetorick equal to the Subject, to purſue the Baſeneſs of it ſufficiently, that the Complaint might have as great a ſting in it, as the Cauſe has Sorrow! For who can ſay what is moſt to be blamed in the Premiſes, whether Irreligion, Folly, Luxury or Madneſs? Since they are all in them. For what can be more Irreligious than to deſire any thing to affront our Maker? Or more Fooliſh than not to conſider what it is you deſire? Or what abandon'd Luxury is it to deſire Rioting and Revelling in a time

(*) Honorius & Conſtantius.

time of Mourning? Or what greater Madneſs can there be than to be in Miſery, and not to be the leaſt ſenſible of it. Altho' in this whole Matter, nothing is leſs to be blam'd than the Madneſs of it; for where the Sin is committed in Frenzy, there the Will is in no Fault. Would you Men of *Treveris*, then fain have Cirque-Games, and this after you have been Plunder'd, and Ruin'd, after Blood and Slaughter, after Torments and Captivity, and ſo many Overthrows of your Conquer'd City? What can be more ſad than this Folly, and more lamentable than this Madneſs? I confeſs, I thought you were ſufficiently miſerable, when your City was deſtroy'd; but now I ſee you are much more miſerable, ſince you deſire theſe wicked Shews. I thought before truly, that you had only loſt your Goods and Eſtates, when you loſt your Town; I could not imagine, that you had loſt your Senſes and Underſtanding likewiſe. You deſire Theatres then, and Petition for a Cirque from the Princes. For what State, I beſeech you; for what People, for what City? For one that is burnt and deſtroy'd, for a People that are captivated and murder'd, who are either loſt, or in Mourning; of whom, if any thing remains, 'tis nothing but Miſery; who are either dejected with Sorrow, exhauſted with Tears, or fainting for the Loſs of Friends, among whom you can ſcarce tell who had the harder Fortune, thoſe who were kill'd, or thoſe who ſurvive. For the Miſeries of thoſe who remain, are ſo Great, that they exceed the Infelicity of the Dead.

Dead. You City of *Treveris* then, petition for publick Paſtimes? Pray where will you play 'em? What, upon the Graves and Aſhes, upon the Blood and Bones of the Slain? For what part of the City is there, that has not ſome of them? Where is not Blood ſhed, where are not Bodies ſcatter'd, where are not the mangl'd Limbs of the Slain? There are every where ſigns of a Vanquiſh'd City, the Horror of Captivity, and the Image of Death. The miſerable Reliques of the People are lying on the Graves of their Dead; and yet you ask for the Paſtimes of the Cirques? The City is all Sooty with its late Burning, and you would put on the Face of Mirth? Every thing in it is ſorrowful; but you are joyful. But beſide all this, you provoke God by theſe moſt Scandalous Fopperies, and ſtir up His Diſpleaſure by theſe worſt of Superſtitions. I do not truely wonder, I do not any longer admire, that ſo many Evils have fallen upon you; for ſince you have not been amended by three Ruines, I think, you very well deſerv'd to feel the Fourth.

See p. 27.

How God ſometimes chaſtiſes us with Hardſhips, and ſometimes he indulges us with Tranquility and Eaſe.

XVI. I have drawn out this Matter the longer, that I might ſhew, that all the Evils we endure, do not come upon us by the Careleſneſs or Neglect of God; but that we bear them by His Juſtice, by His Judgment, by His moſt righteous Diſpenſation, and moſt juſtly Retribution; and that there is not any one Part of the *Roman* Empire, or of any thing that bears that Name, how ſeverely ſoever they have been puniſh'd from above, that have ever been Reform'd

form'd by it. So that we do not by any means merit the Enjoyment of Proſperity, becauſe we are not made better by Adverſity. And yet as unworthy as we are, we ſometimes receive Good Things: For our Good God, like a moſt tender Father, altho' he ſuffers us ſometimes to be humbled for our Iniquities, yet he does not leave us long under the Affliction; and therefore to ſhew His Government, he does ſometimes Chaſtiſe us with Hardſhips; and other times again to ſhew His Tenderneſs, he Indulges us with Tranquility and Eaſe. For as the beſt and moſt Skilful Phyſicians ſuit different Remedies to different Diſtempers, and Cure ſome by Sweet Medicines, and others by Bitter; recover ſome by Cauſticks and Burning, and others by gentle emollient Applications; to ſome they uſe Cutting and Scarifying, and on others pour the ſmootheſt, ſofteſt Oyl, and yet it is but the ſame Health that is procur'd by all theſe Various Methods: Even ſo our God, when ever he uſes Severity towards us, Cures us, as it were, by Cauſticks and Scarifying, and when he refreſhes us again with Eaſe and Proſperity, he Comforts us, as it were, with Oyl and emollient Medicines. For His Deſign is to bring us to the ſame Health and Welfare by the help of different Remedies. Good Words are us'd ſometimes to mend the worſt of Servants, whom Correction will do no good upon; and Kindneſſes have made them ſubmit to their Maſters, when Stripes wou'd never do it. So Sugar-Plums and fair Words will bring thoſe little, teſty, peeviſh Brats under Government, who

would never ſubmit to Threats and the Rod. By which we may underſtand, that we are worſe than the worſt of Servants, and more fooliſh than the ſillieſt Children; ſince Puniſhment does not amend us, as it does bad Servants, nor fair Words change us, as they do young Children.

XVII. And now I think I have ſufficiently prov'd that no Part of the *Roman* Empire were ever amended by the Puniſhments inflicted on them. It remains that I ſhew likewiſe, that they have not been reform'd by God's Bounty and Loving-kindneſs. But what are the Bounty and loveing-kindneſs of God? What ſhould they be, but our Peace and our Quiet, and a Proſperous Tranquility, the Foundations of all our other Joys and Satisfactions. But, ſince the Matter requires it, I ſhall mention ſomewhat in particular. As oft then, as we are in Fear, in Straits, or Dangers; when either our Cities are beſieg'd by the Enemies, or our Provinces waſted by Plunder, or any Parts of the Common-wealth are in Trouble and Diſtreſs, and we Pray to Heaven for Aſſiſtance; if by the Divine Help and Pity, the Cities are ſav'd, or the plundring ended, or the Enemies routed, and all Fear by the Favour of Heaven remov'd, what is it that we do after all this? I preſume we endeavour to recompenſe to our Lord God the Benefits we have receiv'd from him by Worſhip, Honour and Reverence. For that follows of Courſe, 'tis but what is Common among all Mankind, that we ſhould return Thanks to thoſe who have lent us Favours, and give again

gain to those who have formerly presented us. So then, it may be, we do; and dealing with our God at least after the returns used among Men, when we receive Good Things from Him, we return Good Things to Him. We haste immediately to the House of God, prostrate our selves on the Ground, Pray to Him with Joy and Tears together, we Adorn the Sacred Building with our Presents, and load the Altars with our Offerings; and because purely by His Favour we our selves keep Holy-day, we put the Church it self in the same chearful Dress; or at least, which is as pleasing to Him, we renounce our former Sins, we slay the Offerings of Good Works, and for our new Joy, Offer the Sacrifices of our new Conversation; we proclaim a Holy War against all manner of Uncleanness, we shun the Madness of the Cirques, we Abominate the filthiness of the Theatres, we Vow a New Life to our Lord; and for the obtaining of His perpetual Protection, we Sacrifice our selves to God.

XVIII. Seeing then, that what I have said ought to be done for fresh Favours receiv'd from God, let us see what is done. They hast forthwith to the Plays, they fly to their Follies and Madnesses; all the people are dispersed in the Theatres, and behave themselves like Madmen in the Cirques. He bestows good things on us, in order to make us good. We on the contrary, as oft as we receive those Good Things, add to the Summ of our Wickednesses. He by His loving-kindness calls us to Virtue; we run headlong into Vice. He by His Favours pro-

vokes us to Compunction; but we run headlong into Debauchery. He calls us to Chaſtity, and we run headlong into Uncleanneſs. We anſwer the Divine Bounty very finely. We do both acknowledge and Honour his Gifts very delicately; who for as many Benefits as we receive from him, take care to repay him with ſo many Injuries. It may be, this is not an Injury to God, or there may be ſome greater; or is there need of many and Great Ones? But ſince by an inveterate Contagion of all manner of Wickedneſſes, we cannot now be any otherwiſe not Vicious, than by ceaſing altogether to be; I deſire to know, what hope there is of any Goodneſs from us? They who ſin out of ignorance are reform'd, when they know their Error. They who have no Religion, when they Change their Profeſſion, begin likewiſe to Change their Manners. Laſtly, as I have ſaid, they who are vicious by over-much Plenty, Eaſe, or leave off being Rake-hells, when they have loſt their Eaſe. We offend neither out of Ignorance, nor for want of Religion, neither are we corrupted by Proſperity and Eaſe. But all the quite contrary. We have known the true Religion, and are not excus'd by Ignorance; have not the Peace and Riches of the former Times; All things that have been, are either taken away or chang'd, nothing has increas'd with us, but our Vices. There is nothing of the former Peace and Proſperity left us, unleſs the Crimes of them, which have occaſion'd the loſs even of that Proſperity. For where are the former Riches and Honours of the

the *Romans?* The *Romans* were formerly most strong, but now they have lost their Strength. The Antient *Romans* were dreaded, and now we stand in fear. Foreigners paid them Tribute, and now we pay Taxes to Foreigners: Our Enemies sell us, even the very use of the Light. Our Safety and Being is become a Merchandize. O Miserable Wretches, to what a pass are we Come! And yet we give Thanks to and Address those very Foreigners, from whom we purchase, even our selves at a Price. Can any thing be more Abject and Miserable than we? And do we think we Live after this, when even our Life costs us so much? Beside all this, we make our selves ridiculous, the vast Summs we pay, we call free Gifts. We call that a Gift, which is a Price, and a Price of the hardest and most Miserable Condition. For all Captives, when they are once deliver'd, enjoy their Liberty: We are always deliver'd, and yet are never free. These Foreigners deal by us just like those Masters who let out those Slaves for certain Wages, for whom they have no Necessity themselves. Even so, we, in like Manner are never free from the Duties we pay: But still pay them the Acknowledgments of our Slavery, that so we may never leave off paying them.

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK VII.

How incorrigible we are; and rather worſe with God's Chaſtiſements. Of God's Goodneſs in deſiring nothing, that is either heavy or burthenſome for His peculiar Favours Conferr'd upon us: Of what God requires of us. Of the Vices of the Aquitanes. *Of the Vices of the* Africans. *Of the Splendour and Dignity of* Carthage. *Of the Sin of one Man, how it becomes the Bane of many. Of the Vices of a bad Governour.*

How Incorrigible we are and rather worſe with Gods Chaſtiſements.

I. WHen in the Concluſion of the Book, which I have juſt now finiſh'd, I mention'd ſomewhat of the Weakneſs and Miſery of the *Romans*, I may be thought to have ſaid, what makes againſt the Subject I am handling. For I am ſenſible, that it may in this place be objected, That from hence there is a manifeſt Proof, that God do's not regard Humane Affairs: Becauſe, when the *Romans* were formerly *Pagans*, they both conquer'd and

and rul'd; but now they are become Christians, they are both Conquer'd, and made Slaves of. What I have said long since, of almost all the *Pagans*, might be a sufficient Confutation of this Objection; that is, that they sin more heinously, who knowingly transgress the Law of God, than they who transgress out of Ignorance. However, with God's Permission, when I come to that Part of my Task, where something is to be said of the antient *Romans*, I shall with His Assistance plainly shew, that God's Favour toward them then was as just, as His Severity now toward us is righteous; and that it was as meet that God should then, by His Assistance, exalt the *Romans*, as it is fitting, that we now should be chastis'd; And I wish heartily we were any thing the better for the Chastisement. But what is more grievous and lamentable, that there is no Amendment follows it. Our Lord would cure us by His Punishments, but the Cure do's not follow the Remedies. What a mighty Misfortune is this? The larger and lesser Cattle are cured by Incision; and the putrified Bowels of Mules, Asses and Hogs, when they are burnt by cauterising, acknowledge the Benefit of the Healing fire, and presently, as soon as the corrupted part is either burnt or cut off, live Flesh succeeds in the room of that which was dead. We are both burnt and slash'd, but are not heal'd, neither by Scarifying nor Caustick: Nay, which is harder, are made worse by the very Cure. And therefore that is deservedly fallen upon us, which uses to happen to all sorts

of Cattle, that are ſeis'd with incurable Diſeaſes. For in all parts of the World, becauſe we are not amended by the Healing Remedies deſign'd us, we are brought to our End by Death and Deſtruction. For obſerve, that I may not repeat what I have already ſaid long before; what an odd Thing is that which I mention'd juſt now, that we are at the ſame time, both Miſerable and Debauch'd? For granting, that theſe are the Vices of happy People (tho' no one Man can be both wicked and happy; for where there is not through-pac'd Honeſty, there is no true Felicity) but yet, as I ſaid before, granting, that theſe Vices are the Effects of Peace, of Plenty, and Security. How, I beſeech you, come they to be there, where there is neither Peace nor Security? For in almoſt all the *Roman* World, there is no Peace nor Security. Why are our Vices the only durable Things? Who, I pray you, can bear to ſee Laſciviouſneſs in a Man in want? For Luxury in Poverty is much more Criminal; and for a Man in Miſery to play the Fool, muſt needs increaſe the Cenſure. All the *Roman* World is both Miſerable and Luxurious. Who, I deſire to know, is poor, and yet ſpends his Time in Trifles; who, when he expects Captivity, thinks of the Cirque, who is under the apprehenſion of Death, and yet is merry? Yet we play under the very Dread of Captivity, and having the Fear of Death upon us, burſt into Laughter. You would think all the *Romans* were ſatiated with the Herbs of (*) *Sardinia*, They die Laughing.

Eccleſ 25. *v.* 2.

(*) *A proverbial ſaying, for a fooliſh laughing with ſorrow in the end.*

And

And therefore, almoſt in all Parts of the World, Tears follow our Laughter; and even at preſent, that Saying of our Lord is come upon us: *Woe unto you that laugh, for you ſhall weep.* Luk. 9.

II. But it may be, ſince I have ſpoken ſo long of the publick Sports and Uncleanneſſes, ſome one may be apt to think, that we are worſe than the *Barbarians* only in this, becauſe they do no ſuch things, and 'tis only we that do them; but as to the wickedneſs of Carnal Luſts, and the filth of Abominable Fornication, that we are not by any means ſo Bad. Let us, if you pleaſe, compare the *Romans* in this Particular with the other People. And really, I cannot tell whether they can be more rightly compar'd to any than to thoſe, whom God having plac'd, in the very heart of the Commonwealth, has made Lords and Maſters of the *Roman* Soil. But altho' nothing can be argu'd of the Judgment of God; yet ſeeing he has taken away from us a great Part of our Poſſeſſions, and given them to the *Barbarians*, let us conſider whether, what he has taken from us, and given to them, he can be thought to have done by a juſt Judgment. Every one knows, that the *Aquitanes*, and the (*) *Novem-Populi*, had the very Marrow of almoſt all *Gaul*, and the Breaſts of all its Plenty; and not only of Plenty, but of what is ſometimes preferr'd before it, of Delight, Pleaſure, and Beauty. The whole Country there was ſo intermixt with Vineyards, and curious flowry Meads, chequer'd with various Tillage, planted

of God's Goodneſs in deſiring nothing that is either heavy or burthenſome for his peculiar favours conferred upon us.

(*) *The inhabitants of what is now call'd* Gaſcoine *and* Guienne *in* France.

(*) *People of* Languedock *and* Gaſcoine.

ted with Orchards, or the pleaſanteſt Groves, water'd with Fountains, or flow'd between by Rivers, or cover'd all over with Harveſts plenty; ſo that the Poſſeſſors and Owners of that Country ſeem'd not ſo much to enjoy that Portion of the Soil, as the very Reſemblance of Paradiſe. And what after all this? Undoubtedly they ought to be more dutiful toward God, whom he had thus in a peculiar manner enrich'd with ſuch an Abundance of His Favours. For what is more rational and fitting, than that they whom God by His Bleſſings ſeem'd particularly willing to oblige, ſhould likewiſe in an eſpecial manner, endeavour to pleaſe him by Honour and religious Service; eſpecially conſidering, that God, requires nothing that is heavy or burdenſome from us. God do's not call us to the Plow or the Spade; not to Till the Earth, nor to Dig and Delve in the Vineyard; nor do's he require ſo much of us, as we do from our Servants: For what ſays he? *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye ſhall find reſt unto your Souls. For my yoke is eaſie, and my burden is light.* Our Lord therefore do's not invite us to Labour, but to Refreſhment. For what does he require of us, what does he command us to perform, but only, Faith, Chaſtity, Humility, Sobriety, Mercy, Holineſs; all which do not burden, but beautifie us? And not only ſo, but they do therefore adorn this preſent Life, that they may

Matt. 11. *v.* 28, *&c.*

Of what God requires of us.

may much more adorn that which is to come. O the Goodneſs, Loving-kindeſs, and ineſtimable Mercy of God, who gives us in this preſent Life the Bleſſing of Religion for that very End, that he may hereafter reward the very Things that he gave us! Such certainly, without all queſtion, the *Aquitanes* ought to have been. And truly, as I ſaid, in a more eſpecial manner, becauſe they receiv'd more eſpecial Favours from the hand of God. But what after all theſe? What follow'd? What, but every thing the quite contrary? For as they were the richeſt in all *Gaul*, ſo they were the moſt Vicious. For there was no where greater Voluptuouſneſs, no where lewder Lives, nor no where more corrupt Diſcipline. This Return they made the Lord for His heavenly Favours, that as much as He by His lovingkindneſſes, endeavour'd to draw them to him, that he might have mercy upon them; ſo much on the other hand by their deteſtable Actions, they labour'd to exaſperate Him.

III. But it may be, this is falſe, and is rather ſpoken invidiouſly, than truly? I ſhall not make uſe of any far-fetch'd Proof, as Orators and others in their Cauſes are us'd to do, by producing to juſtify it only ſome few, and thoſe ſtrangers, and not legal Witneſſes. I will only ask the Parties, who have done the Fact. I have told an untruth, if they deny it. For they confeſs it, and which is worſe, they own it ſo, as not to ſhew the leaſt Sorrow in the Confeſſion. For they have the ſame Mind now in the Confeſſing it, as they had before in *Of the vices of the Aquitanes.*

in the Acting it. As then they were not aſhamed to commit the Wickedneſs, ſo neither now do they in the leaſt repent, that they had done thoſe Wicked things. Excepting however, ſome very few Holy and Eminent Men, who, as one of their Number ſays —— *Redeem'd their Crimes by ſcattering their Coin* —— Excepting, I ſay, thoſe I ſpeak of, whom in that Univerſal Stanch and Filth of Vices, I believe only to have been guilty of the leſſer Crimes, ſince they deſerv'd to be reform'd by Heaven. For he does not in every Reſpect offend his Lord, for whom Mercy is reſerved. And in ſhort, I am of Opinion that he had always his Eye upon God in the midſt of his Miſtake, who could obtain the Bleſſing from Him, that he might continue no longer in it. But the reſt, and Moſt, and Richeſt, were almoſt all the ſame; their Guts were almoſt one bottomleſs Pit: And all their Lives one continued Brothel-houſe. But what do I mention the Brothel-houſes? I take the Bawdy-houſe to be much leſs faulty. For the Harlots who are there, never knew the Bond of Marriage; and ſo they do not pollute what they never knew. They do indeed deſerve to be puniſh'd for the Sin of Unchaſtity, but yet they are not guilty of the ſin of Adultery. Beſide, there are not many Brothels, and there are very few Queans, who have damn'd themſelves to that curſed way of Living. But among the *Aquitanes*, what City was there in the Richeſt and Nobleſt part of it, which was not like a perfect Stews? Where was there a Rich

Rich Man of Power, who did not live in the filth of Luſts? Who did not plunge himſelf in the naſty ſtinking Jaques? Who was true to his Bed? Nay, as far as lying with them goes, who has not reduc'd his Wife into the Number of his Maid-ſervants, and debaſed the Sacred Obligation of holy Wedlock, ſo far, that no one in the Family ſeems Meaner in the Husbands Eyes, than ſhe who was Chief by the Honour of her Marriage?

IV. But perhaps ſome one or other thinks, that it was not ſo bad to the full, as I repreſent it, for that the Miſtreſſes of the Family had their Right there, and that they poſſes'd all the Reſpect and Power due to Miſtreſſes. Many of them truly, had their Governing Power entire, but ſcarce one of them their Bed undefil'd. And we are not now enquiring what is the Power of the Women, but of the Baſeneſs and Immorality of the Men. Altho', neither can I ſay that That Miſtreſs of the Family has her Power entire there; becauſe, whoever ſhe be, that has not her Matrimonial Dues ſafe and unviolated, neither has ſhe her Power entire. For that Miſtreſs of the Houſe is at very little diſtance from the meaneſt of her Servants, where the Maſter of the Family is the Husband of the Maids. But who of the Wealthy *Aquitans*, was not this? Whom have not their moſt impudent Maid-ſervants rightly call'd either their Adulterer or their Husband? For *they were*, as the Prophet ſays, *As fed Horſes, every one neigh'd after his Neighbours Wife.* And they of whom we thus read in the Scripture, as I be-

Jerem. 5. *v.* 8.

leive,

lieve, offended with a much leſs Crime, and a much leſs Number and Repetition of them. But theſe, like true fed Horſes, did not neigh after a few, but after all their little Slaves, that is, after their own Herds; and like thoſe Animals, who are call'd the Husbands of the Flock, rambling in the frenzy of boyling Luſt, they fly upon the firſt Female the burning Fury of their Lewdneſs leads them to. Here, ſeeing Matters are thus, I would ask of any conſidering Perſon, what ſort of Families does he think were there, when they had ſuch Maſters? How great muſt the Corruption of the Servants be, where that of the Maſter is ſo large? For when the Head is Diſtemper'd, nothing in the Body is ſound; nor does any one Limb perform its Office, when the Principal is out of order. For in his Family the Maſter is, as it were, the Head of the Body, and his Life is the Rule which all the others live by. And this is the Miſchief in this Affair, that all do more willingly follow the worſe Examples, and ill Inſtruction will ſooner ſpoil thoſe who are Good, than good Advice Reform thoſe who are Bad. But beſides, ſeeing that the Good and Honeſt Maſters of Families, cannot make their Servants Good, what a lamentable Condition muſt thoſe Families be in, where the Maſters are the Patterns of Lewdneſs? Altho' in this Caſe there was not only bad Example, but a ſort of Force and Neceſſity; becauſe the Maid-ſervants were forc'd to comply with their moſt unchaſte Lords againſt their Will, and the Luſt of the Maſter neceſſitated the Servant.

Goats.

vant. By which we may ſee how great the filth and naſtineſs of their Luſts were, that it was not poſſible for the Women, tho' they deſir'd it, to live Chaſte under ſuch lewd Maſters.

V. But it may be, this is very difficult to be prov'd, and there are no footſteps at all left of the paſt Filthineſſes and Villanies. Nay there are even now many of them, altho' they have loſt their Country, and in compariſon of their former Plenty, live Poorly, yet are even worſe than they were before. They are worſe more ways than one, becauſe altho' they do the ſame things they formerly did, yet they are ſo much the worſe in this, that they do not leave off their ſinning. For if their preſent Wickedneſſes are not greater in their kind, yet they are more; and for that reaſon tho' they do not increaſe in the newneſs of their Crimes, they ſufficiently add to the Number. Add to this, that they do theſe things in old Age, and now they are Poor: For both are an aggravation of the Crime. Becauſe it is leſs ſtrange to ſee Young men and Rich men Sin. But what Hope or Remedy is there for them, who are not reclaim'd from their habitual Impurities, neither by Miſery and want, nor by the Concluſion of their Lives. For ſuppoſe that an Idle preſumption of long Life, or the hope of repenting ſome time or other, does Comfort ſome; Is it not altogether Monſtrous, that any ſhould be vicious, even at the time of Death? Things being thus, Is there any thing more can be ſaid? Yes, 'tis a further Addition, that many do theſe Things at this day, in the midſt

of

of the Enemies, and being Captives in daily Danger and Fear: and when by reaſon of their moſt impure Lives, they were deliver'd up by God to the *Barbarians*, yet they do not leave off thoſe Impurities, even among thoſe very *Barbarians*.

VI. But perhaps their Enemies, among whom they are, are ſuch ſort of Men, that they are pleas'd with ſuch kind of Doings, and would be mightily offended, if they ſhould ſee the *Romans* chaſte, when they themſelves are unchaſte? Which if it were ſo, yet other Men's Wickedneſs ſhould not make us wicked, becauſe it concerns every Man much more to take care that he be good, than it can any other Man, that he be bad; and to take more Pains to pleaſe God by Honeſty, than to humour Men by Impurity. And ſo admitting that any one did live among unchaſte *Barbarians*, he ought rather to follow Chaſtity, which makes for himſelf, than unchaſtity to pleaſe his impure Enemies. But what addition is there further to our Wickedneſſes? Why, we are unchaſte among chaſte *Barbarians*: Nay further, the very *Barbarians* are offended with our Ledwneſſes. There is no Whore-Maſter *Goth* permitted among the *Goths*; 'tis the *Romans* only, to the prejudice of their Name and Nation, who among them are ſuffer'd to be lewd. What hope is there then for us, I would fain know before God? We love Unchaſtity, the *Goths* abominate it; we ſhun Purity, they court it; Fornication among them is Criminal and Dangerous; with

us 'tis Creditable. And do we think we are able to ſtand before God; do we think we can be ſafe, when every Sin of Impurity, and every Filthineſs of Unchaſtity is admitted by the *Romans*, and puniſh'd by the *Barbarians*? I deſire to know in this place of thoſe, who take us to be better than the *Barbarians*; let them name me the ſmalleſt Number of *Goths*, who do any thing of this; or let them mention any of theſe Crimes, that All the *Romans*, or almoſt All of them do not practice? And do we wonder then, if the Lands either of the *Aquitanes*, or of all of Us, be given by God to the *Barbarians*, when thoſe places which the *Romans* had defil'd by their Uncleanneſs, the *Barbarians* now purifie by their Chaſtity?

VII. But it may be, this is only among the *Aquitanes*? Let us paſs then to other Parts of the World, leſt we ſhould ſeem to have ſpoke only of the *Gauls*. And have not the ſame, or, it may be, greater Vices, deſtroy'd the Provinces of *Spain*? Which, altho' the Divine Vengeance has indeed, deliver'd to ſome other *Barbarians*; yet the Foes of Purity have ſuffer'd Puniſhments equal to their wicked Deſerts. But there is this over and above, to manifeſt the Condemnation of Unchaſtity there, that they ſhould be given into the hands of the *Vandals*, that is, to chaſte *Barbarians*. God by that Captivity of the *Spaniards*, had a mind to ſhew, by two ſeveral ways, both how much he hated the Luſt of the Fleſh, and how much he lov'd Chaſtity; when he both put the *Vandals* over them, purely on account of their Modeſty,

and put the *Spaniards* under them, purely on account of their Immodeſty. For what; were not there in all the World to be found more ſtout *Barbarians*, to whom the *Spaniards*, might have been deliver'd? Yes, many doubtleſs; nay, unleſs I am miſtaken, all of them. But he therefore deliver'd up all to the weakeſt Enemies, that he might ſhew that it is not ſo much Strength which prevails, as the Cauſe; nor that we were at that time overthrown by the Valour of our Enemies, but were vanquiſh'd by the Uncleanneſs of our Vices only. So that that Saying, which our Lord uſes to the *Jews*, is fully come upon us; *According to their Uncleanneſs, and according to their Tranſgreſſions, have I done unto them, and hid my face from them.* And in another place to the ſame People: *The Lord ſhall bring upon thee a Nation from afar, and with the Hoofs*, ſays he, *of their Horſes, ſhall they tread down all thy Streets, and they ſhall ſlay thy People with the Sword.* All things therefore, which the Scripture hath ſpoken, are fulfill'd in us, and the Puniſhment of All of us declares the Force of the Oracles from above.

Ezek. 39. v. 24

Ezek. 26. v. 11.

VIII. But yet, ſince almoſt all the Barbarous Nations have drunk the *Roman* Blood, and all have torn our Bowels; how comes it, that our God hath given the greateſt Riches of the Commonwealth, and the wealthieſt People of all that bore the Name of *Romans*, into the Power chiefly of thoſe, we formerly reckon'd the moſt Cowardly of our Enemies? To what other End, but that we ſhould acknow-

knowledge, as I ſaid before, that this was the Fruit of their Deſerts, and not the Effect of their Valour; and that this very Thing is fall'n upon us, to our Confuſion and our Puniſhment, that we ſhould be deliver'd to the moſt Cowardly, and ſo might acknowledge the Stroke of the Divine hand in it, ſince we are not conquer'd by the Valianteſt of our Enemies, but by the moſt Cowardly. For ſo we read, that if God would have it at any time obſerv'd, that ſome Mighty Things are done by Himſelf, the Things are brought to paſs, either by a few, or by weak Perſons, leſt the work done by God's right-hand, ſhould be aſcrib'd to any Humane Power. So *Siſera* the Captain of the Hoſt, whom the Army of *Iſrael* dreaded, was vanquiſh'd by a Woman. The Hand of a Woman likewiſe ſmote *Abimelech*, the Great Aſſaulter of Cities, and the Harneſs'd Armies of the *Aſſyrians*, periſh'd by the Aſſiſtance of a Widow-woman. And to mention ſome others beſide Women; would not the Lord have it ſo, that *Benhadad*, the King of *Aſſyria*, whom many thouſands of People follow'd, and who had thirty and two Kings and their Armies, that ſerv'd him; would not he have him vanquiſh'd by a few Princes of the Provinces, that it might be perceiv'd, who was the Author of ſuch a Victory? So likewiſe *Gideon* is commanded with a few, to fight againſt the *Madianites*, who, as the Book of *Judges* relates the Story, had fill'd all places like Locuſts; not that he had not many in his Army, but he is forbidden to lead out many to the Battle,

Judges 4. v. 21.

Judges 9. v. 53.

Judith 13 v. 7, 8.

1 *King.* 20.

Judges 7.

leſt by their Number, they might claim to themſelves a Share in the Victory. So that, when he had gather'd together thirty Thouſand Armed Men, the Lord ſpoke thus unto him; *The People that are with thee are too many for me, to give the Madianites into their hands.* And what follow'd? VVhy, he left this Man, who was to engage againſt very many thouſands of ſtrange People, only three hundred Men. And he order'd his Army to be reduc'd to that ſlender Number, that the fewneſs of them might not be able to uſurp to themſelves any thing of the Victory, beſtow'd on them from above. But why the Lord was pleas'd to do thus, he declares moſt plainly, when he ſays: *Leſt Iſrael vaunt themſelves againſt me, ſaying, mine own hand hath ſaved me.* Let all Wicked and Preſumptuous Men, I ſay, hear this, let all the Men of Power, and all Mankind in general hear what God ſays, *Leſt Iſrael vaunt themſelves againſt me, ſaying, mine own hand hath ſaved me.*

ver. 2.

v. 2.

IX. Let all, I ſay, hear this who blaſphemouſly boaſt the contrary, let thoſe who put their truſt in Man hear this. God ſays, that all they who preſume they can be deliver'd by their own Strength do ſpeak againſt him. But where is there one of the *Romans*, who does not ſpeak ſo; who does not think ſo? Who is he of our ſide, who does not almoſt always Blaſpheme in this particular? That the Commonwealth has now no Strength left, is what every Man knows, and neither by that do we acknowledge to whoſe loving-kindneſs we owe, that

that we are even yet alive. For if at any time beyond our hopes and desert, God does bestow upon us some little Prosperity, one ascribes it presently to Fortune, another to Chance, one to the good Conduct of the Officers, another to prudent Council, some to their Master, others to their Patron, but no body to God. And yet we wonder if Heaven does not do something for us, when we diminish every thing we receive from it. For what else do we, when we ascribe the good things we receive thence either to casual Events, or to the Valour of the Leaders, or to any other frivolous Matters? For by as good reason we ought to give Thanks to the Earth, because we gather our yearly Fruits, and to the Vineyard for our Vintage, and to the Sea that we catch Fish, to the Woods that we cut Timber from them, to the Sheep for our Cloaths, and to the other Cattle that we are cramm'd with Flesh. For what reason is there that we are thankful to Him for other Favours, when we Rob Him of the Thanks due for His greatest Benefits? What Man is there of our own Condition, who is content that any one should own the having receiv'd some small Kindness from him, and yet should stifle or Diminish some greater Obligation? So we, altho' we do not give God Thanks in any particular as we ought, yet it is very pitiful, if we are only thankful barely for the necessaries of Life. Why do we forbear to Thank Him for His help in our Distresses, that he gives us Deliverance in times of Danger, and for His Preservation and Protection in the

midſt of ſo many Barbarous Nations? The *Goths* do not do thus, this is not the way of the *Vandals*; altho' their Inſtructors be but indifferent, yet in this particular they are much better than we. I have reaſon to think ſome will be offended at what I ſay. But ſince Truth is more to be regarded than any Mans Diſpleaſure, I will ſay it and ſay it again: The *Goths* do not do thus, this is not the Practice of the *Vandals*, who when they are in any Danger beg help of God, and call their Succeſſes the Gift of Heaven. Our Misfortune in a late Encounter is a Proof of this. For when the *Goths* were afraid, we preſum'd to put our Confidence in the *Huns*; but they truſted in God, when they ſued to us for Peace, we deny'd them; they ſent our Biſhops, we rejected them; they Honoured God in His Prieſts tho' of * another Communion, but we contemn Him even in our own. As the Actions of either Party were, ſo was the Iſſue of the Matter. Victory was given them in the greateſt fear, and confuſion to us amidſt the greateſt Haughtineſs and Stifneſs; So that the ſaying of our Lord was truly fulfill'd both in us and them: *For whoſoever exalteth himſelf ſhall be abaſed, and he that humbleth himſelf ſhall be be exalted.* For they were exalted for their Humility, and we were abaſed for our Pride.

(*) *The* Goths *became* Arians *in the time of the Emperor* Valens.

Luk. 14. *v.* 11.

X. That Commander of Ours found the truth of this, who enter'd that City of the Enemies as a Priſoner, which on the ſame day he preſum'd he ſhould have entred as a Conquerour. He ſufficiently prov'd what the

Litorius *in the Year* 439 *taken, as he was beſieging* Tolofe, *the Capital City of the* Goths *in* Gaul.

wiſe

Wiſe Man ſaid. *A mans heart deviſeth his Way, but the Lord directeth his Steps.* Prov. 16. v. 9. For becauſe he thought his Way was in his own Power, he neither had the direction of his Steps, neither did he find the path of Safety. *Contempt*, as we read, *is poured upon Princes, he wander'd in the Wilderneſs where there is no Way, and is brought to nothing as Water that runneth apace.* Pſal. 107. v. 40. Now in this Caſe beſide the Misfortune of the thing, the Preſent Judgment of God was manifeſted, that he himſelf ſhould ſuffer, what of his own head he thought he ſhould Inflict on others. For becauſe he believed that he could Captivate the Enemy without the Aſſiſtance and help of Heaven, he himſelf was made a Priſoner. He pretended to the higheſt pitch of Counſel and Wiſdom, and yet incurr'd the Diſgrace of Foolhardineſs. The Shackles he prepar'd for others, he carried himſelf. And pray how could the Judgment of God appear more evidently, than that he, who had the daringneſs of the Plunderer, ſhould himſelf become a Booty, who preſuming upon Triumph, ſhould himſelf become the Subject of one; ſhould be encompaſs'd about, hall'd along; ſhould be bound, have his Arms ty'd behind him; ſhould ſee thoſe Hands Shackl'd, which he thought were excellent at Fighting; ſhould become a Spectacle to Children and Women; ſhould ſee the *Barbarians* playing Tricks with him; ſhould bear the Taunts and Scoffs of both Sexes; and that he, who had all the Arrogance and Pride of a Man of Mettle, ſhould undergo the

Death of a Coward. And I wiſh this were the ſhort Remedy of his Misfortunes, and that his Torments were not more laſting. For he, as to the Puniſhment they inflicted on him, being kept a long time in Goal by the *Barbarians*, and waſting under a lingring Diſtemper, was reduc'd to that Miſery, That, which Men oftentimes take to be more grievous and bitter than their Hardſhips, he was even pitied by his very Enemies. And how came all this to paſs? How? without doubt, but becauſe, as I now ſaid, they were obedient to God, and we Rebels to Him; they believ'd Victory was in the hand of God, and we took it to be in our own; nay in (*) impious and ſacrilegious ones, which is worſe and more wicked than our own. The (*) King of our Enemies, as the thing it ſelf hath declar'd and prov'd, proſtrate in Sackcloath, powr'd out Prayers to the very day of the Battle; before the Battle, he lay at Prayer, and roſe from Prayer to the Battle. Before he began the Fight, he had fought with Supplications, and therefore he march'd in Confidence to the Battle; becauſe his Devotion had already merited the Victory.

(*) *Thoſe of the* Huns.

(*) Theodoric *King of the* Goths.

In the Year 422.

XI. The Caſe was much the ſame as this in the Engagement with the *Vandals*, againſt whom, being fix'd in *Spain*, when our Army march'd, and carried as much Confidence and and Preſumption along them, that they ſhould certainly rout them, as they lately did in the Affair of the *Goths*; they periſh'd with the ſame Inſolence and Pride, and with the very ſame Deſtruction. And that ſaying of the Prophet

phet came upon our Army: *The Lord hath rejected thy Confidence, and thou ſhalt not proſper in them.* For we truſted in our Wiſdom and our might, in contradiction to God's Command, who ſays: *Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he underſtandeth and knoweth me, for I am the Lord.* We are therefore deſervedly overcome: For they betook themſelves to better helps than we: For whilſt we prided our ſelves in our own Armies, and thoſe of our Allies, our Enemies on the other ſide, had among them the Books of the Holy Scriptures, The Fear and Conſternation of the *Vandals*, had at that time driven them for Help to them more eſpecially, that they might oppoſe the ſacred Volume of the heavenly Oracles againſt their approaching Foes, and even open the very mouth of God Almighty againſt us. Here now, I would know, whether any one of our ſide ever did thus, or who would not be ridicul'd, that ſhould but think of doing it? He would be ſcoffed at with a Witneſs; as almoſt every thing that relates to Religion is by our People. And therefore, what Advantage can it be to us to have a Religious Title, that we call our ſelves Catholicks, and boaſt of the Purity of our Faith; that we deſpiſe the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and upbraid them with the Name of Hereticks, when we our ſelves live as wickedly as any Hereticks can do? And therefore, that is moſt truly ſaid to us, which holy Writ ſpoke to the *Jews*, that truſted in the Law: *How*

Jerem. 2. & v. 37.

Jerem. 9. v. 23, 24.

do

Jerem. 8. v. 8. *do ye ſay we are Wiſe, and the Law of the Lord is with us? Truſt ye not* (ſays the Prophet) Jerem. 7. v. 4, 5, 6, 7. *in lying words, ſaying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are theſe; For if you thro'ly amend your ways and your doings, if ye oppreſs not the ſtranger, the the fatherleſs and the widow, and ſhed not Innocent Blood in this place, then will I dwell with you in this Place for ever and ever.* From whence 'tis plain, that if we do not do theſe things, 'tis to little purpoſe to flatter our ſelves on account of our being call'd *Catholicks.* But I have ſaid enough both now and formerly of this Matter, and it may be, may ſay more hereafter: And there is no need to diſcourſe further, where God's Judgment ſtill continues. For the thing it ſelf ſhews what God's Judgment is of Us, and of the *Goths* and *Vandals.* They increaſe every day, and we decreaſe; they go forward, we are pull'd back; they flouriſh, and we are dry'd up. So that the Saying of holy Scripture, which ſpeaks of *David* and *Gaul*, is come upon us: 2 Sam. 3. v. 1. *David waxed ſtronger and ſtronger, and the Houſe of Gaul waxed weaker and weaker.* Pſal. 119. v. 137. For *juſt*, as the Prophet ſays, *and righteous is the Lord, and true are his Judgments,*

XII. We are therefore judg'd by God, even by a preſent Judgment; and to that end, for our Deſtruction and Diſhonour, a People are ſtirr'd up, going from one place to another, rambling from one City to another, and laying waſte all before them. For firſt of all, from their own Country, they were powr'd in upon

Germa-

(a) *Germania Prima*, which bears the Name of Barbarous, and was under the Power of the *Romans*, after whose destruction, they pillag'd first the Country of the (b) *Belgæ*, then they seis'd the Wealth of the Luxurious *Aquitanes*, and afterward the Body of all *Gaul*, not all at once, but by little and little; that while one part of them were routed and slain, the other might amend from their Example. But where is there any Amendment among us, or what part of the *Roman* World, be its Distress never so great, that is reform'd by it? *For*, as we read, *They are all gone out of the way, they are all become unprofitable.* And therefore the Prophet cries unto the Lord, and says: *Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved; thou hast consum'd them, but they have refused to receive Correction: They have made their Faces harder than a Rock, they have refused to return.* How truly this is applicable to us, even the Thing it self shews. *Gaul* is long since laid waste; and is her Neighbour *Spain* amended by it? No such matter; for they had not the least apprehension upon them, there was no Reformation at all; they began to be sing'd in the Flames, which burnt the *Gauls*. But what, as I said before, is most heinous and grievous in all this is, that when Fire, as I may say, was set to the Limbs of sinful Men, yet the Vices of the Sinners were not cur'd by it. And therefore God was compell'd by our Wickednesses to spread the Enemies as a Scourge, from place to place, and from one City to another; and to send a Nation, fetch'd

(a) *The Countrybetween the* Mosel *and the* Rhine.

(b) *The Countrybetween the* Rhine, *the* Seine, *and the* Scheld.

Psal. 53. *v.* 4.

Jerem. 5. *v.* 3.

(c) *As far as part of* Sweden.

fetch'd almoſt from the (c) uttermoſt Parts of the Earth, croſs the Sea for the Puniſhment of the ungracious *Africans*. For could not they after they were brought from their Native Country have Settled in *Gaul?* Who did they fear ſhould hinder them to live there, when without any diſturbance from us even to that time they laid all waſte before them? But ſuppoſing they were afraid to ſtay in *Gaul*. What was there in *Spain*, where they had routed our Army in Battle? What were they afraid to ſit down and ſtay there, when they were Conquerours and Triumphing, and were arrived to that pitch of Strength and Power, that after the experience of a Battle that had been long preparing they found that all the forces of the *Roman* Commonwealth, aſſiſted by their (*b*) *Barbarian* Allies, were not an equal match for them?

(*b*) *The* Huns

Of the Vices of the Africans.

XIII. They might then have liv'd there without any manner of fear. But that ſame hand of Heaven, which brought them to puniſh the Iniquities of the *Spaniards*, forc'd them to paſs over to waſte *Africa*. Nay themſelves own'd that it was not their own buſineſs they were doing, but they were forceably compell'd to it by a command from above. By which we may perceive how great our Wickedneſſes are, when the *Barbarians* againſt their Will are forced to waſte and to torment us, according to that which the King of *Aſſyria* the deſtroyer of the Land of *Iſrael* ſays, *Am I now come up without the Lord againſt this Land to deſtroy it? The Lord ſay'd unto me,*

Iſa. 36. *v.* 10.

go

go up againſt this Land and deſtroy it. And in another place the holy Scripture ſays. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, the God of Iſrael, Behold I will ſend and take Nebuchodonoſor the King of Babylon my Servant, and he ſhall come and ſmite the land of Ægyt.* By which we may perceive that all places that are afflicted are ſmitten by the Judgment of God; but yet, as I have often ſaid, are overthrown for their own Sins. So that all that happens to them is to be aſcrib'd to their own Tranſgreſſions, and not to God; for the action is juſtly aſcrib'd to that thing that requir'd, that the Action ſhould be done. For both the Murderer when he is condemn'd by the Judge, is puniſh'd thro' his own villany; and the Thief or the Church-robber, when he is burnt in the fire, is brought to that Puniſhment for his own Crimes. So that the *Vandals* paſſing over into *Africa*, is not to be aſcrib'd to the Severity of Heaven, but to the viciouſneſs of the *Africans*. For they drew them there by their grievious and long impieties a great while before they came at them, and therefore we ſhould obſerve that it was Gods loving-kindneſs, that he deferr'd the Puniſhment which had been ſo long due; and their own Sin and Wickedneſs, that a ſinful People did ſometime receive what they had deſerv'd. Unleſs, it may be, we think the People of *Africa* did not deſerve this, when none deſerv'd more, as having among them a Collection of all ſorts and ſizes of Wickedneſſes and Uncleanneſſes. For other People, altho' they were in Bondage to ſome ſorts of Vice

Jer. 25. v. 9 & 19.

and

and Naughtineſs, yet were not entangled in all; altho' they may be given to tipling, yet they are free from Spite and Malice; tho' they burn with Luſt, yet they do not tyrannize in rapine; and laſtly, tho' the incontinence of their bodies accuſes ſome, yet the ſimplicity of their manners, in other reſpects, at the ſame time commends them: But among almoſt all the *Africans*, there is nothing of theſe which belongs to both, that is, to the Good as well as the Bad, becauſe the whole is thro'ly Evil. So that the Integrity of their former Natures being excluded, their Vices ſeem in ſome ſort to have made them another kind of Natures.

XIV. For excepting a very few Servants of God, what was the whole Territory of *Africa*, but one Family full of Vices? Like that Pot of which the Prophet ſpeaks? *Wo to the bloody City, and the Pot in which there is ruſt, it ſhall not go out of it, becauſe blood ſhall not go out of it.* He compar'd the City, we ſee, to a Pot, and their Iniquity to Blood. That we might know that Iniquity of the People in a City is like Blood boyling in a Pot. Not much unlike this is that other place of Scripture; *All the Houſe of Iſrael is to me become mixt with Copper and Iron, Tin and Lead, and in the midſt there is Silver: Wherefore ſay thus: Thus ſaith the Lord, becauſe you are all become one maſs, I will blow upon and melt you in the fire of mine anger.* Here the holy writ mentions Metals of very different kinds. And how can ſuch different things be refin'd in the ſame Furnace? Why? becauſe in theſe different kinds of Metals,

Ezek. 24. *v.* 6.

Ezek. 22. *v* 18. 19.

tals, is meant a diverſity of Men. And ſo even Silver, that is, a Metal of a Nobler make is put into the ſame fire, becauſe the beſt Parts and nobleſt Nature by a degenerate life are condemn'd. Thus alſo we read that the Lord ſpoke by the Prophet concerning the Prince of *Tyre*. *Son of Man take up a lamentation upon the King of Tyrus, and ſay unto him; thou ſeal-eſt up the ſcum, full of Wiſdom and perfect in* Ezek. 28. v. 12. *Beauty, thou haſt been in Eden the Garden of God: Every precious ſtone was thy covering,* v. 13. *the Sardius, and the Topaz, and the Emerald.* And again: *With ſilver and gold thou haſt* v. 4. & 5. *filled thy Treaſures; by the multitude of thy Traffick thou haſt fill'd thy Ware-houſes.* All which ſeem as if they were ſpoken of the *Africans* in particular; For, where were there greater Treaſures, where greater Trading, where fuller Store-houſes? *With gold* ſays he, *thou haſt fill'd thy Treaſures by the multitude of thy Traffick.* But I ſay farther, that *Africa* was formerly ſo Rich, that the abundance of her Merchandiſing ſeem'd, to me, to fill not only her own Treaſures, but thoſe of the whole World. And what follows? *Thy Heart*, ſays he, *was lifted up becauſe of thy Beauty, for the* v. 17. *multitude of thy ſins I have caſt thee to the ground.* How does this agree to the Powerful State of *Africa*, or how does ſhe ſeem to be thrown upon the Ground? How? Why when ſhe loſt the height of her antient Power, ſhe parted with almoſt a ſort of Cœleſtial Dignity. *And I will bring forth*, ſays he, *a fire from the midſt of thee, it ſhall devour thee.* What can v. 19. have

have more truth in it than this? For from the midſt of their Iniquities, the fire of Sin is gone forth, which has conſum'd all the Happineſs of the former times. *And all*, ſays
v 19. he, *who knew thee among the Nations ſhall mourn over thee.* Let us not think that this agrees to them, if the Deſtruction of *Africa* is not the grief of all Mankind. *Thou art made*, ſays he, *à perdition, and ſhalt not be any more for ever.* 'Tis manifeſt enough that all things are brought to Deſtruction there. What remains is, that the continuation of Eternal Torments may not follow theſe puniſhments of their preſent Evil Deeds.

XV. But God out of His loving-kindneſs and Mercy cannot ſuffer that to be. Tho' as far as appertains to the Merit of our Crimes, the Matter is ſuch, that he may ſeem to ſuffer it. For what Villanies are there, which have not not been always committed there? I cannot ſpeak of all, becauſe they are both uncommon and irregular, and are ſo great that they cannot be either known or ſpoke of. I only now mention the beaſtlineſs of their Uncleanneſſes, and which is worſe, of their Sacrileges. I paſs by in any of them the greedy deſire of having, as a Vice common to all Mankind. I ſhall ſay nothing of the inhumanity of their avarice, which is an Evil peculiar to almoſt all the *Romans*. I ſhall leave their Drunkenneſs undiſturb'd, as being common to both Gentle and Simple, their Pride and loftineſs ſhall be buried in Silence. This is ſo reigning a Sin among the great Men, that perhaps they may think

think they loſe ſomewhat of their Right, if any one ſhould claim any parcel of it. And in the laſt place, I ſhall not touch upon the Catalogue of their Frauds, Falſities and Perjuries. No *Roman* City was ever without their Evils. Altho' the Wickedneſſes ſeem more eſpecially to belong to all the *Africans*. For as all Dirt and Filth runs into the Sink, or Hold of an high built Ship, ſo, as from all Parts of the World, have Vices flown into their Manners. For I know of no kind of Wickedneſs whatever, which did not more than abound there; when yet, even the *Pagan* and unciviliz'd People, altho' they have Vices peculiarly their own, yet all things among them, are not worthy of deteſtation. The *Goths* are Perfidious, but yet they are chaſte. The *Alans* are unchaſte, but then they are not ſo perfidious; The *Franks* are Lyars, but are Hoſpitable; The *Saxons* are Cruel and Barbarous, but are remarkable for their Continence. So all Nations, as they have ſome peculiar Vices, ſo they have ſome Virtues. But among almoſt all the *Africans*, I do not know any thing that is not Evil. If inhumanity is blameworthy, they are inhumane; if Drunkenneſs, they are Drunkards; if Falſeneſs, they are moſt Falſe; if Deceit, they are moſt deceitful; if Covetouſneſs, they are moſt rapacious; if Perfidy, they are moſt perfidious. But their Uncleanneſs, and their Blaſphemy are not to be joyn'd to all theſe: For in thoſe Evils beforementioned, they have ſurpaſſed the Vices of other Nations, but in theſe they have out-done even their own.

XVI. And in the first place, to begin with their Uncleanness, who knows not that whole *Africa* has always burnt with the obscene Fire of Lusts; that you would not take it for a Land or Habitation of Men, but rather an *Ætna* of unchaste Flames? For as *Ætna* rages with the intestine Heats of fermenting Nature, so *Africa* always boils with the abominable Fire of Fornications. I do not desire to be believ'd, meerly for my asserting it. Take evidence from all Mankind. Who does not know that all the People of *Africa* are generally incontinent, unless, it may be, they are converted to God; that is, are changed by Faith and Religion? But that is as great a Novelty and Rarity, as it would be to see one, whose name was *Gaius* not to be *Gaius*; and one whose name was *Sejus*, not to be *Sejus*. For it is as uncommon and unusual, not to have an *African* unchaste, as that an *African* should not be an *African*: For the Sin of Incontinence is so general among them, that whoever of them do ever leave off to be lewd, does not seem to be an *African*. I shall not run through all places, nor examine every City, lest I may seem studiously, to enquire after, and narrowly to search for what I say. I shall be content with one only, and that the Head and *Metropolis* of all the Cities there: She that was always Rival to our *Rome*, formerly in Arms and Might, and afterward in Beauty and Power: *Carthage*, I mean, both the greatest Adversary of the City of *Rome*, and as another *Rome* in *Africa*: which alone is sufficient

That John a Stiles should not be John a Stiles, and John of Nokes should not be John of Nokes.

Of the Splendour and Dignity of Carthage.

ent for me, as an Evidence and Example, because it had within it all things, by which the Diſcipline of any Commonwealth in the whole world is either govern'd or manag'd. There are all the Neceſſaries of publick Offices; there are Schools of the liberal Arts, and Lectures of Philoſophy, and all Inſtructions to be had in Languages or Manners. There is a ſtanding Army, and Officers to lead them. There was the Dignity of a Proconſul, a conſtant Judge and Governour, call'd indeed a Proconſul; but a Conſul in his Power. And laſtly, there were all ſort of Officers there, and places different in Degree and Name, and, as I may ſay, a ſort of Procurators of every Street and Alley, for the Governing all places of the City and Diviſions of the People. I am therefore ſatisfied with only this One, as an Example and Evidence of the reſt; that we may underſtand in what State thoſe Cities were, which had leſs Care taken of, and Government among them; when we ſhall ſee in what a Condition this was, where the Chiefeſt Magiſtrates always reſided. But in this place, I almoſt repent me of my Promiſe, that is, that I engag'd above to paſs by all the other Crimes of *Africa*, and to ſpeak only of their Blaſphemies and Uncleanneſſes. For methinks, I ſee the City overſpread with Vices, and the place reeking in all kind of Iniquities, crowded with People; but more with all Uncleanneſs, full of Riches; but fuller far of Vices: Men ſtriving with each other for the Maſtery in the Naughtineſs of their Villanies; ſome offering at the Prize in

Rapine, and others by their Lewdneſs. Some reeling with their Wine, and others gorg'd with Gluttony; ſome with their Garlands on their Heads, and others dawb'd with Unguents, and all loſt in divers ſorts of Luxury and Corruptions, but yet deſtroy'd almoſt All by one Death of Errors; they are not all indeed fuddled with tippling Wine, but yet are all quite drunken in their Sins. You would take the People to be much diſorder'd, to be out of their Senſes, to be neither ſound in their Mind, nor in their going; but, like *Bacchus*'s mad Votaries, haſtning in Crowds to Riot and Intemperance. But now of what ſort is that, and how grievous; different indeed in Kind, but not different in Iniquity, unleſs perhaps, it be eſteem'd different in this, becauſe 'tis greater. I mean the Pillaging of Orphans, the Afflicting of Widows, and the Torments of the Poor, who daily lamenting unto God, and begging an End of their Misfortunes; and, which is worſt of all, thro' the bitterneſs of their Diſtreſs, ſometimes craving of God to bring an Enemy, have at length obtain'd from Him, that they ſhould undergo the common Deſtruction from the *Barbarians*, which they alone before only bore from the *Romans*.

XVII. Well, it ſhall be ſo, all theſe things ſhall be paſs'd over, for they are acted almoſt all over the *Roman* World; beſide, I promis'd, that in this place, I would ſpeak ſomewhat of theſe Wickedneſſes. What then ſhall I ſay of that Unchaſtity and Uncleanneſs which I now ſpeak of; was not it alone ſufficient to deſtroy the

the *Africans*? For what part of the City was there, that was not full of Filthineſs, what Street or Lane within the Place, that was not a Bawdy-houſe? They dugg always, either as Traps of Luſt, or ſpread them forth as Nets; ſo that, even they, who had no manner of Inclination to them, yet could ſcarce avoid them. You might in a manner ſee the Sets of Highway-Men waiting for the Plunder of paſſing Travellers, who, by the cloſeneſs of their frequent Snares, ſo hemm in all Paths, all narrow Lanes and Turnings, that ſcarce any one with all his Caution, but would fall into ſome of the Traps, altho' he had freed himſelf from many of them before. All the Citizens of that place, as I may ſay, ſtunk with the dirt of Luſt, mutually breathing on each other the naſty Savour of Vncleanneſs. But theſe horrid things did cauſe no dread in them, becauſe they All were equally concern'd. You'd think there were one Commonſhore of Luſt and Fornication, a publick Jaques made up from all the Streets and Privies. And what hope could be there, where, except in the Church of God, there was nothing but dirtineſs to be ſeen. But why do I ſpeak of the Church of God? For that belongs ſolely to the Biſhops and Clergy, whom I do not enquire after, becauſe I reſerve all imaginable Reſpect to the Miniſters of my Lord; for they, I believe, only remain'd undefiled at the Altar; as we read, that *Lot* at the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, was remaining alone in the Mountain. But as far as concerns the People, who was there in that almoſt in- *Gen.* 19.

numerable Number of them that was chaſte? Chaſte do I ſay? Who was not a Fornicator, who was not an Adulterer, and that without ceaſing, without ending? And therefore I am forced to cry again, What hope is there of ſuch a People, where, when ſometimes one Adulterer has defiled the whole Congregation of Chriſtians; there, if you ſeek as diligently as you can among ſo many Thouſands, you will ſcarce find one chaſt Perſon in the Church? Nay, I have woſe to add. And I wiſh there were only what I have ſaid, and that the Lewdneſs of the Men had been content to have been defiled with the uſe of their dirty Whores only. That is grievous and more heinous, that thoſe things of which the Apoſtle St. *Paul* complains with the greateſt Sorrow and Lamentation have been almoſt all among the *Africans*; *viz. That the men leaving the natural uſe of the Woman, burn'd in their Luſt one toward another, Men with Women working that which is unſeemly, and receiving in themſelves, that Recompence of their Error which was meet; And even as they did not like to retain God in their Knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do thoſe things which are not convenient.* Does the Apoſtle ſpeak this of Barbarous and unciviliſed people? Not at all, but of us, that is, of us *Romans* in particular: whom, when the *Africans* could not formerly overcome in Power and Empire, they have done the only thing they could; they have overcome them in Uncleanneſs. Whoever therefore thinks he has reaſon to be angry with me,

Rom. 1. v. 27, 28.

me, let him be rather angry with the Apoſtle, becauſe that what I ſay, the People of *Africa* were, the ſame the Apoſtle ſays of the *Romans*, who were their Maſters.

XVIII. But, it may be, what I ſpeak of was either done in ſecret, or at leaſt the Magiſtrates took care, that ſuch Wickedneſs ſhould not be publiſh'd to ſcandalize the Government, and defile the eyes of the City. Which, if it had been done, altho' many had been guilty of the Fact, yet all would not be polluted in Sight and Mind; for an Action wicked enough, if it be done privily, does not uſe to deſerve the Credit of a villanous Act. But it is above all the execrable and monſtrous Offences to commit the higheſt Tranſgreſſion, and yet not to be aſhamed of the Sin. I deſire to know what can be more prodigious than this? In a Chriſtian City, in an Eccleſiaſtical City, which the Apoſtles had formerly inſtructed in their Doctrines, which Martyrs have crown'd with their Paſſions; the Men in the uſe of their Bodies have own'd themſelves Women, and that without any the leaſt ſhadow of Shame, or any covering to their Modeſty: and in ſuch manner, as if it were a ſmall Matter, that the Authors only of the Sin ſhould be defil'd with the Wickedneſs, by the publick profeſſion of the Crime, it became the Guilt of the whole City. For all the City ſaw it, and ſuffer'd it: The Judges ſaw it, and wink'd at it, the people ſaw it, and applauded it; and ſo by the joint publiſhing of the Scandal and the Crime thro' the whole City, altho' they

Or Gover-nors.

were not guilty of the Fact, yet their conſenting to it, made it the Crime of all. But it may be, there was ſome time or other, an end put to the Corruption, and the People amended? Who can believe or hear, that the Men chang'd not only their Uſe and Nature into Female paſſiveneſs, but even their Countenance, Gate, Dreſs, and every thing that was Manly, either in the Uſe or Dreſs. All things were ſo perverted and diſtorted, that ſince nothing ought to put a Man more out of Countenance, than to have any thing about him that looks effeminate; there, nothing ſeem'd more diſgraceful to ſome Men, than when they ſeem'd to have any thing manly about them.

Of the Sin of one Man, how it becomes the Bane of many.

XIX. But ſay you, this is only a ſhame to ſome few, and what is not committed by many cannot hurt all. I have ſhew'd already, how that oftentimes among the People of God, the Sin of one Man became the Bane of many: Thus the People periſh'd by *Achan*'s Theft; ſo a Plague aroſe from *Saul*'s Zeal; as a Mortality from *David*'s numbring of the People. For the Church of God is like an Eye. For, as, altho' but a little Duſt falls into the Eye, yet it blinds the whole Sight; ſo in the Body of the Church, altho' but a few Members do commit dirty Deeds, yet it does almoſt darken the whole Light of the Churches Beauty. And therefore our Saviour himſelf calls the Principal Part of the Church the Eye, when he ſays: *The light of the Body is the Eye: If therefore thy Eye be ſingle, thy whole Body ſhall be full of Light: But if thine Eye be evil, thy*

Joſh. 7.
1 *Sam.* 19.
2 *Sam.* 23.
Mat. 6. v. 22, 23.

thy whole Body ſhall be full of Darkneſs. And ſo the Apoſtle, *Know ye not that a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump.* Altho' I do affirm, that there was not a little only of this Wickedneſs, but a great deal of it; not becauſe there were ſo many of thoſe effeminate Men, as becauſe the Effeminacy of thoſe few, had tainted the reſt. For altho' they are but few who are Actors in ſuch ſcandalous Practices, there are many, who are defil'd with the filthineſs of thoſe Few. For as one Harlot makes many Whore-maſters, ſo the accurſed Mixtures of a few effeminate Ones pollutes a great Part of the People. And I cannot tell which of them are the worſe in the ſight of God, ſince they are both condemn'd alike in the ſacred Scriptures; *For*, ſays the Apoſtle, *neither effeminate Perſons, nor abuſers of themſelves with Mankind ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God.* This then is greatly to be bemoan'd and lamented, that ſuch a Wickedneſs as this ſeemed to be the Crime of the whole Commonwealth, and all the Honour of the *Roman* Name was mark'd with the Infamy of this prodigious Villany. For when the Men took upon them the Womens Habit, and minc'd their Gate more than the Women, and faſtned to themſelves certain Tokens of their monſtrous Uncleanneſs, and dreſs'd their Heads as the Women uſed to do, and this publickly in a *Roman* City, a moſt Renowned and Famous City; what was it but a Scandal to the *Roman* Empire, that ſo execrable a Villany ſhould be publickly permitted, even in the

1 *Cor.* 5. *v.* 6.

1 *Cor.* 10 *v.* 9.

very

very heart of the Commonwealth? For that Great and Mighty Power which can hinder the greateſt Naughtineſs, does, as it were, licenſe that Thing to be done, if knowingly it ſuffers it to be committed. For in whoſoever's Power it is to forbid a Sin, if he does not forbid the Commiſſion of it, he commands it to be done.

XX. Again, ſince Grief forces it, I deſire to know of thoſe who are angry, among what *Barbarians* theſe Things are either ever done, or permitted publickly with Impunity? But that there may be no longer Doubt, or Search made in this Matter, let us compare theſe who have over-run *Africa*, to the *Africans* themſelves. Let us ſee if any thing like this be committed by the *Vandals*. And really a ſtrange People, puffed up and ſwoln with Victory and Succeſs, diſſolv'd in the Abundance of Riches and Delights; altho' they had been always before moſt chaſte and continent, might yet have been chang'd, by ſuch a torrent of Temptations, having entred a Land, that in the Scripture Phraſe, flow'd with Milk and Honey, Fruitful, moſt Plentiful, and almoſt drunken with all Delights and Pleaſures; in which it would not have been any wonder, if Foreigners had been luxurious, where even Nature her ſelf ſeem'd to be ſo luxuriant. Who would not think now, but that the *Vandals* entring theſe places, plung'd themſelves in the Filth of all manner of Vices and Uncleanneſſes; or to ſpeak the leaſt, that they did the ſame things the *Africans* had always done, into whoſe

Exod. 13. 5

whoſe places they ſucceeded? And really, if they had done only the ſame things, they might be reputed chaſte and modeſt, ſince Succeſs did not make them more vicious. For how many are there, even of wiſe Men, whom Proſperity does not alter, and whom Vices does not encreaſe with their Eſtates? And hence it is manifeſt, that the *Vandals* would have been moſt temperate, if they as Conquerours had been ſuch, as thoſe whom they captivated and ſubdued. But what, was no one of them unmann'd among all this Luxury? Does no ſuch thing appear? 'Tis certain, that it was very common with the Noble *Romans* to be ſo. But what ſhall I ſay more? Were none of them polluted with the Inceſt of the Effeminate *Romans* there? 'Tis certain, that this was long ago ſo eſteem'd by the *Romans*, that it was rather thought to be a Vertue than a Vice; and they were look'd upon to be the ſtouteſt Men, who were moſt robuſt Stallions. Whence it came, that for a Reward to a parcel of Scoundrels, who follow'd the Army of Striplings, it was decreed as to a meritorious Service, That ſince they were luſty Fellows, they ſhould have the Pleaſure of uſing Men as Women. O horrid! And this by *Romans*; and further, *Romans* not of this Age: But yet, leſt we accuſe the old Ones, *Romans*; but not the antient ones: But after they became diſſolute and debauch'd, and utterly unlike themſelves and their Anceſtors, and more like *Greeks* than *Romans*. So that (as I have often ſaid before) it no wonder that the *Romans* ſhould

ſhould ſometime ſuffer what they have long ſince deſerv'd.

XXI. This Uncleanneſs then began among the *Romans* before the Goſpel appear'd, and what is worſe, has continued after the Goſpel. Now who after this can forbear to admire the *Vandals*; who entring this moſt wealthy City, where all theſe wickedneſſes were every where committed, ſo poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Delights of the debauch'd Inhabitants, as to deſpiſe their Debauchery and Lewdneſs, to take to themſelves the uſe of what was good, and to avoid the uncleanneſs of the bad. So that this is a ſufficient Commendation of them, tho' I ſhould ſay no more. For they abominated the filthineſs of Men, nay more than they abominated that of Women; they abhorr'd the Stews and Brothels, and abhorr'd the lying or medling with the common Strumpets. And can this ſeem credible to any, that the *Romans* committed theſe things, and that the *Barbarians* abhorr'd them? Or is it poſſible for any thing more to be ſaid, after what I have ſaid already? Yes there is, and a great deal too. For that I have ſaid they avoided the Filthineſſes themſelves, it is but a ſmall Matter. For any one may deteſt Baſeneſs, but not remove it. But that is truly Great and of ſingular Merit, not only not to be polluted ones ſelf, but alſo to make Proviſion, that no one ſhall ever after be defil'd. For he does in ſome ſort provide for the Welfare of Mankind, who do's not only take care that he himſelf be good; but endeavours what he can that others may

leave

leave off to be bad. This which I ſay is Great, truly Great, and Extraordinary. Who could believe that *Vandals* did theſe Things in *Roman* Cities? All uncleanneſs of the Fleſh is utterly remov'd from among them. But how is it remov'd? Not as Things us'd to be remov'd by the *Romans*, who make a Law, that no one ſhall commit Adultery, and they are the firſt Adulterers; and Enact that no one ſteal, when themſelves are the firſt Thieves. Altho' I can ſcarce ſay, that they ſteal. For they are not little petty Thieveries they commit, but Notorious open Robberies. For the Governour puniſhes Cheating in the publick Revenue, when he is the greateſt Robber of the Treaſury; he puniſhes Rapine, when he himſelf is the greateſt Oppreſſor; He puniſhes a Cut-throat, when he is a Gladiator; He puniſhes the *breakers of Doors and Windows*, when he overturns whole Towns; He puniſhes the Robbers and Breakers of Houſes, when he deſtroys and robs whole Provinces and Cities. And I wiſh they only did this, who were in Power and Places, and whoſe Station gives them a kind of Right to uſe theſe Robberies and Oppreſſions. But it is grievous and more intolerable, that thoſe who have been formerly in Places and Honours; but now are private Men, ſhould do this. The Station, it ſeems, they once had, gives them ſo Great a Privilege, that they have always a Right of Robbing. So that when they ceaſe to have the Adminiſtration of their publick Power, they ſtill reſerve private Power to

Of the Vices of a bad Governour.

Burglars.

Plun-

Plunder. So that the Power they had, when Governours, was much more eaſie, than what they have as private Men. For in that, they are often ſucceeded, in this never. Now pray what ſignifie Laws; what Advantage is there from any publick Sanctions, when they who adminiſter them, contemn them moſt? The common and ordinary People are forc'd to obey them, the poorer Sort are compell'd to be Subject to their Orders; and if they do not, are certainly puniſh'd for it. For they have the ſame Reaſon done them in this Matter, as they have in their Taxes. They only obſerve the publick Laws, as only they pay the Taxes. And ſo in the very Laws, and in the juſt publick Ordinances, there is the greateſt Wickedneſs and Injuſtice, when the meaner People are forc'd to obſerve that as ſacred and inviolable, which the greater Folk diſregard, and tread upon their feet.

XXII. I have broke off the thread of my Diſcourſe a little, being forc'd to it by the unworthineſs of the Things I was ſpeaking of. But now I return to what I was ſaying before. I have ſaid then, that the Cities of *Africa*, were full of monſtrous Impurities, and eſpecially ſhe that was the Queen and Miſtreſs of them all; but that the *Vandals* were not polluted by any of them. Theſe *Barbarians* then, of whom I ſpeak, who were to reform our Corruption and Filthineſs, were no ſuch Men. For they utterly took away out of all Parts of *Africa*, the Uncleanneſſes of the Effeminate Men; they abhorr'd the Contagions of the

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Common Whores; neither did they abhor or remove them only for a Time, but they made them altogether ceaſe to be. O good Lord, and merciful Saviour, how ſtrange are the Effects of Diſcipline and Government, by which the Vices of Nature may be chang'd, as they were altogether changed by them! But how were they chang'd? For it is of Moment to tell, not only the Effects of Things, but alſo the Cauſes of thoſe Effects. For it is to little purpoſe to take away Unchaſtity by Word or Order, unleſs you remove it indeed: And 'twill ſignifie very little to require Chaſtity by Words, unleſs you exact it heartily: which they being very ſenſible of, did ſo take away the Unchaſtity, that they preſerv'd the unchaſte Perſons, not putting the miſerable Harlots to death, leſt they ſhould blemiſh the Cure of their Vices with the Blot of Cruelty; and whilſt they deſir'd to take away their Sinning, they themſelves ſhould ſin in the cutting off their Offences. But they ſo amended the Sinners, that what they did was a real Medicine, but no Puniſhment. For they commanded and compell'd all the Harlots, to betake themſelves to Marriage, and ſo converted Fornication into Wedlock: thereby fulfilling that Saying and Command of the Apoſtle: *That every man ſhould have his own Wife, and every Woman her own Husband*; ſo that as Incontinence could not otherwiſe be bridled, without the uſe of ſuch carnal Mixtures; ſo the Bodily heat ſhould receive it's lawful uſe, that Incontinence might not have in it Sin. By which

1 *Cor.* 7. *v.* 2.

which management, they did not only provide, that thoſe Women ſhould have Huſbands, who could not contain without them, but alſo, that they who were not able to ſecure themſelves, might be ſafe under the eye of their Domeſtick Guardians; and ſo always ſubmitting to their Husband's Government, altho' the Habit of their former Uncleanneſſes entic'd them to Naughtineſs; yet the Obſervation and Care of a Husband might keep them from the Sin. Beſide this, to reſtrain Debauchery, they added ſevere Laws to eſtabliſh Chaſtity, and to puniſh Incontinence; that both the Affection of Marriage might keep both Sexes clean at home, as the Dread of the Laws do the ſame abroad: That ſo Chaſtity might be defended by a double Guard, having ſomething at home to be beloved, and ſomewhat abroad to be afraid of. But theſe Laws were not by any means like thoſe, which ſo take away one part of the Wickedneſs, that they allow another part of the Uncleanneſs: Or, as thoſe *Roman* Edicts that forbid Whoremaſter's going near other Men's Wives, but allow them the uſe of all ſingle Women; forbidding Adulteries, but erecting Brothels. I ſuppoſe they were afraid that Men would be too chaſte and clean, if they kept them from all ſort of Uncleanneſs. But ſo did not they of whom we are ſpeaking, who prohibited Fornication as Adultery; who would have Women be no Women, but to their own Huſbands, and the Men be no Men, but to their own Wives; who ſuffer Luſt to wander no

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farther than the lawful Bed, ordering their Laws after the Model of the Divine Laws, believing, that nothing was lawful to be done in that Caſe, but what God had thought lawful. And therefore they did not think, that any thing was to be allow'd to any man by them, unleſs what was permitted to all by God Himſelf.

XXIII. I am ſenſible that what I have ſaid, will ſeem intolerable to ſome Men. But we are to be guided by the Reaſon of Things, and not by any one's Fancy or Pleaſure. Let that Man, whoever he be, that is diſpleas'd with what I ſay, tell me, whether *Socrates* was not always eſteem'd the wiſeſt of Men, and that too by the Teſtimony of the Dæmon of *Delphos*, who, as he was the Chief of the Philoſophers, ſo he was of the Devils. Let us ſee then, what Laws *Socrates* enacted relating to Chaſtity, and what they did of whom I am ſpeaking. *Let no man*, ſays *Socrates*, *have a Wife to himſelf, for Marriages ought to be common to all. For by this Means Cities will agree much better together, if all Men lie with all Women without any difference; then all Women will allow the uſe of their Bodies to all Men without Diſtinction; and ſo all Men will become the Huſbands of all Women, and all Women the Wives of all Men.* Did we ever know any body in a Frenzy, or Poſſeſs'd, or ſtark Staring mad, that ever utter'd any thing like this? You grand Philoſopher then ſay, that by this means all Men will be the Husbands of all Women, and all Women the Wives of all Men, and the lit-

tle Ones thus begot, the Children of all. But I on the contrary ſay, that by this Means, there is not any Man, who is the Husband of any Woman; neither is any Woman the Wife of any Man, nor any of the Of-ſpring the Child of any Parent. For where all things lie in common and confus'd, there no body has a Property in any thing. Neither was it enough for this Great Sage, as they call him, to teach this Doctrine, unleſs he alſo practis'd it; for he gave away his own Wife to another Man; as did alſo the *Roman Cato*, that is, another *Socrates* of *Italy*. Loe here, what are the extraordinary Patterns ſet us by the Wiſdom of *Rome* and *Athens*. They make all Husbands, as much as in them lies, to be Pimps and Panders to their own Wives. But *Socrates* was Victor in this, for he wrote Books upon the Subject, and record-ed theſe ſhameful Things for Poſterity. But however, his Precepts were to be bragg'd of: For his Doctrine makes only one publick Stews of the whole World. He is ſaid to be unjuſt-ly condemn'd by his Judges. And true it is: For all Mankind with more Juſtice ſhould have condemn'd him, when he was ſetting forth ſuch Principles as theſe, as undoubtedly they did condemn him. For ſince in this particular all have rejected his Doctrine; they have con-demn'd him, not only by the Authority of a Sentence, but which is much more, by their contrary Practice; and juſtly. For let his Con-ſtitution be compar'd wit the Orders of thoſe, whom God has made Maſters of *Africa*. He ordain'd, that no body ſhould have a Wife to

him.

himſelf; they, that no body ſhould have any but his own; He would have every VVoman proſtitute her ſelf to all Men; they, that no woman ſhould know any other but her own Husband; He was for a mixt and confus'd Generation, they, for a chaſte and regular one; he would have every Houſe a Brothel, they, no ſuch thing; he endeavour'd to erect Stews in all Habitations, they, took them all down out of the Cities; he was for proſtituting all Virgins, and they made the lewd women chaſte. I could wiſh heartily that this had been only *Socrates*'s Error; and that many, nay almoſt All the *Romans*, were not infected with it, who, altho' they do not by any means imitate *Socrates* in other Particulars of his Life, yet in this they follow him cloſely: For both many Men have each many Wives, and a great many Women have each many Husbands. And are not all the Cities full of Stews, and even ſtink with Brothel-houſes? And why do I ſay all? 'Tis certain the greateſt and and richeſt are ſuch. For 'tis a ſort of Privilege and Honour in the great Cities, that as much as they excel others in greatneſs, they ſhould out-do them in Uncleanneſs. I would fain know then, what hope the States of *Rome* can have, when the *Barbarians* are more chaſte and clean than the *Romans?* But I mince the Matter; What hope I pray, of either Life or Pardon before God, can there be for us, when we ſee ſuch Chaſtity in the *Barbarians*, and yet we ceaſe to be chaſte? Let us bluſh for ſhame, and be confounded, There are no unchaſte

Perſons now among the *Goths*, but the *Romans*, and among the *Vandals*, even the *Romans* are not ſuch. The deſire of Chaſtity, and the ſeverity of Diſcipline, have done ſuch Mighty things among them, as not only to make themſelves chaſte, but to do a new thing, a Thing incredible, and never heard of before, they have made even the *Romans* chaſte. If I had ſtrength, I would make ſuch an Out-cry, as the whole World ſhould hear me: Be aſham'd at length, you *Romans*, be aſham'd of your way of living. You have no Cities without Stews, none altogether free from Uncleanneſſes, but thoſe only, in which the *Barbarians* have begun to be. And do we wonder then, if we are miſerable, who are ſo very lewd? do we wonder that we are conquer'd by the Enemy, who ſurpaſs us in Honeſty? Do we wonder that they poſſeſs our Goods, who abominate our wickedneſſes? It is not any natural Strength in their Bodies that makes them overcome us, neither is it any natural weakneſs in us, that cauſes us to be vanquiſh'd. Let no man perſwade himſelf otherwiſe; let no man think otherwiſe, 'tis our vicious Morals alone that have enſlaved us.

SALVIAN *of* GOD's *Government*, &c.

BOOK VIII.

How we our ſelves are the Authors of our own Miſery and Calamity. How it is a kind of Sacrilege to hate the Worſhippers of God.

I. I Suppoſe, nay I am certain, that the length of this Diſcourſe is become tedious to very many; eſpecially ſince it does ſo freely laſh the Vices of our Morals. For every body would willingly be commended, but no body cares for Reproof: Nay, which is much worſe, be the Perſon never ſo wicked, never ſo deſperate and lewd; yet he had rather be untruly commended, than juſtly rebuk'd; be deceiv'd with the Deluſions of falſe Commendations, than be preſerv'd by wholeſome Admonition. And what is to be done in ſuch a Caſe as this? Muſt we gratify this Humour of ungodly Men? Or if they deſire to be courted with ſuch vain Praiſes; Is it fit for us to ſooth them with ſuch Vanity and Deluſion? Eſpecially ſince they, who would be thus cheated

How we our ſelves are the Authors of our own Miſery and Calamity.

cheated, ought not to be ſo uſed by good Men, as neither ought they to be untruly commended, who deſire to be ſet off with the falſe Colours of undue Praiſe: For we ſhould conſider, not ſo much what every one of theſe Men deſire to hear, as what is moſt fitting for us to ſpeak; eſpecially ſince the Prophet hath ſaid, *Woe be to them that call ſweet bitter, and bitter ſweet.* So that by all means, the Truth is to be ſtuck to, and what is in the thing it ſelf, the ſame ſhould be in the Diſcourſe upon it: Thoſe things that have ſweetneſs in them, ſhould be call'd ſweet, and thoſe which have bitterneſs in them, bitter; eſpecially now in ſo ſacred a Concern, where our Iniquities are by many aſcrib'd to God; and ſo that they may ſeem guiltleſs, they preſume to throw the Blame upon God Himſelf. For when they ſay, that he is negligent and regardleſs, and blaſpheme him, as not adminiſtring humane Affairs righteouſly, or not adminiſtring them at all; what do they do leſs than accuſe Him of Lazineſs, miſpending His Time, and of Injuſtice? O the Folly and Blindneſs of Mankind, O their Frenzy and Fool-hardineſs! You then, O man, call God negligent and regardleſs: If you offer'd ſuch a Compliment to any thing of a Gentleman, you would be guilty of Inſolence and ill Manners: And if to a Nobleman or a Man of Quality, you would undergo the Penalty of the Law for it. Theſe are Reproaches which are thrown on the moſt prodigal Spend-thrifts, and 'tis a Taunt only proper to lewd young Rakehells, who are ſaid

Iſaiah 5. v. 20.

to

to be Miſpenders, negligent, and regardleſs of their Eſtates. O prophane and ſacrilegious Impudence! We ſay that God Almighty is that, which we do not uſe, even to Men, unleſs the moſt deſperate and wicked. And yet theſe are not the only things are ſaid: For he is accuſed, as I ſaid before, of Injuſtice. For if we do not deſerve the things we ſuffer, and ought not to bear our preſent Miſeries, we make God unjuſt, who commands us to bear evils we have not deſerved. But, ſay you, he does not ſo much order them, as permit them. Granting that it is ſo: How far, I pray you, is he that permits it from him that orders it? For he who knows that we bear ſuch things, and can prevent our bearing them, does without doubt, approve of our bearing what he ſuffers us to endure, Whence we may perceive, that the permiſſion of His Judgment is juſt, and that it is by a Sentence from above that we ſuffer; for ſince all things are under His Juriſdiction, and His will governs all things, whatever Misfortunes or Puniſhments we every day ſuffer, it is a Cenſure from God's own hand; which Cenſure we bring upon our ſelves by our Sins, and by our Provocations inflame it. We light the fire of God's wrath, and ſtir up thoſe flames which may conſume us. So that as oft as we bear theſe Evils, that of the Prophet may be juſtly apply'd to us: *Walk in the flame of the fire which ye have kindled.* So that by this, according to holy Scripture, every Sinner does prepare for himſelf what he ſuffers. There is nothing of our

Iſaiah 50. v. 11.

Calamities then to be laid at God's door: We our ſelves are the Authors of our Calamities. For God is loving and merciful, and who, as the Scripture ſays, *Would have all men be ſaved.* 1 *Tim.* 2. *v.* 4. 'Tis we therefore that do every thing againſt our ſelves. There is nothing, nothing ſo cruel to us as our ſelves. We, I ſay, torment our ſelves, whether God will or no. But I may ſeem here to contradict my ſelf, ſince I ſaid a little above, that we were puniſh'd by God for our Sins; but now I ſay, that we are puniſh'd by our ſelves: Both are true: We are puniſh'd indeed by God; but then we are the Cauſe of the Puniſhment. And ſeeing we cauſe him to puniſh us, who can any longer doubt, but that we by our own Crimes puniſh our ſelves. For whoſoever gives a Cauſe why he ſhould be puniſhed, he puniſhes himſelf according to that: *Every one is bound with the cords of his own Sins.* If then perverſe Men are bound with the Cords of their own Sins, without doubt every Offender binds himſelf, when he commits Sin.

II. But ſince I have ſpoken a great deal of the Uncleanneſs of the *Africans*, I will here ſay a little of their Blaſphemies. For Paganiſm was always openly profeſs'd by many there. They had within their Country and Cities, an Inteſtine and deadly Abomination, I mean that She Dæmon of the *Africans*, which they call'd (*) *Cæleſtis* (or Heavenly) on which the antient Heathens, I ſuppoſe, beſtow'd that goodly Name, that ſince it had nothing of Divinity in it, it ſhould at leaſt be related to it in the Name; and having no perfection from

I ſuppoſe ſuch another as the Διοπετὴς (*the Image that was ſaid to fall down from* Jupiter) *at* Epheſus, *mention'd* Act 13 *v.* 35.

its

its own Power, it ſhould derive ſome Honour from the Appellation. Who was there that was not initiated in the Rites of that Idol? who was not from his very Conception and Birth, devoted to her Service? I do not ſpeak of thoſe, who, as they were Pagans in their Lives, ſo they were in Title and Profeſſion; who, as they were prophane in their Error, ſo they were in their Names. For Paganiſm is more tolerable and leſs wicked in thoſe, whoſe Profeſſion it is: But that is more pernicious and wicked, that many of thoſe, who had publickly profeſs'd Chriſt, yet in their Mind ſerv'd the Idols. For who was there of thoſe who were call'd Chriſtians, who did not worſhip that She-Idol, either after Chriſt, or which is much worſe, before Chriſt? Who enters the Houſe of God, that is not full of the Incenſe of the Sacrifices offer'd to theſe Devils; and with the ſtanch of the Devils themſelves, aſcends God's Altars: ſo that it had not been near ſo great a Crime not to come to the Houſe of God at all, as to come thus. For the Chriſtian, who does not come to Church, is only guilty of Negligence; but he who comes in that manner, of Sacrilege. And 'tis a much leſs Offence not to give God the Honour due to Him, than thus to injure and affront Him. And ſo, for that Reaſon, they who have done theſe things, have not given any Honour to God, but rather have taken it from him. For they have, in ſome ſort, perform'd the Service of the Church to the Idol already: For the performance of the Duty at the ſecond place, redounds

redounds to his Honour to whom the first and chief Devotions are offer'd. See here, what was the Faith, what was the Religion, what was the Christianity of the *Africans*, and especially of the Great ones! They were call'd Christians, to the dishonour of Christ. When the Apostle cries aloud: *Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord and the cup of Devils: Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table and of the Table of Devil's*: It was not enough for them, that with the Cup of the Lord they might drink the Cup of Devils, unless they preferr'd it to the other: Neither was it sufficient for them to compare the Table of Devils to the Table of our Lord, unless after the performance of their infamous Superstitions, coming to the Church of God, by the Instigation of the Devil himself, they breath'd out their abominable Incense upon the most holy Altars of our Lord.

1 Cor. 10. v. 21.

How it is a kind of Sacrilege to hate the worshipers of God.

III. But, say you, all did not do these things, but only the Great and Powerful ones. Granting it to be so: Yet seeing, that the richest and greatest Families fail not to draw the Mobb after them; you see that the whole City is defil'd by the Sacrilegious Superstitions of a few Great ones. I suppose no body doubts, but that all their Families were like the Masters of them, if not worse, for so they are generally. And seeing, that even vertuous Masters have often very bad Servants, we may easily guess, what all those Families were, since the wickedness of the Masters make those servile Creatures worse, who were already bad enough

of

of themſelves. Well, I allow that what I have ſpoke of, belong'd only to ſome Great and powerful ones. But what? were thoſe things any whit leſs that were common to All, both high and low? Such as Hatred and Deteſtation of all holy Men: For it is a kind of Sacriledge to hate the Worſhippers of God. For, as if any one beats our Servants, he does, in ſome ſort, beat us by injuring our Servants; and ſo, if a Man's Child is Chaſtis'd by another Perſon, the Father's Affection is a little uneaſie with the Child's Stripes: Even ſo, when any Servant of God is abus'd by any one, God Himſelf is affronted; as our Lord Himſelf ſaid to his Apoſtles: *He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth Me.* For our moſt compaſſionate and loving Lord ſhares both Honour and Abuſes in common with His Servants, leſt any one, when he injures a Servant of God, ſhould only think, that he injur'd the Man; when without all queſtion, there is an Affront to God, joyn'd with the Injuries done His Servants; God Himſelf with the moſt tender Affection teſtifying as much to His Servants in this wiſe: *For he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.* That he might expreſs the Tenderneſs of His Love, he mention'd the very tendereſt Part of Man's Body; that ſo we might perceive moſt plainly, that God is as much injur'd with the leaſt Contempt offer'd His Saints, as the Sight of a Man's Eye is hurt with the ſmalleſt Stroke. The *Africans* then abus'd and hated the Servants of God, and in them God Himſelf.

Matt. 10. *v.* 40.

Zachar. 2. *v.* 8.

IV. But

IV. But it is ask'd, it may be, how this Hatred of theirs can be prov'd. The ſame way that the *Jews* Hatred of our Saviour, may be prov'd, when they ſaid to Him; *Thou art a Samaritan, and haſt a devil*; when they derided Him, blaſphem'd Him, ſpit in His Face, and grated their Teeth at Him. So that our Saviour Himſelf, who endur'd all this, ſays in the *Pſalms*; *All they that ſee me laugh me to Scorn; they ſhoot out the Lip and ſhake the Head.* And in another place: *They tempted and derided me, and gnaſh'd their Teeth upon me.* Juſt thus is the Hatred of the *Africans* toward the Monks, that is, holy Men of God, prov'd; For they derided them, ſlander'd them, rail'd upon them, and abhorr'd them, and did almoſt every thing againſt them, that the impious *Jews* did formerly againſt our Saviour, before they came to the ſhedding of His moſt precious Blood. But, ſay you, they did not put theſe holy Men to Death, as we read the *Jews* did formerly; Whether they ſlew them or no, I know not; I do not ſay they did. But however, this is an admirable Excuſe, that they only wanted that of the heathen Perſecutors in them, which is the utmoſt Thing perſecution it ſelf can do. Let us ſuppoſe then, that theſe holy Men were not ſlain there. But what ſhall we make on't, when we ſee that they are not far from Slaying of them, who hate them ſo, as to be willing to ſlay them; eſpecially ſince our Lord ſays: *Whoſoever hateth his Brother without a Cauſe, is a murderer.* Altho' they did not perſecute theſe Servants of God

John 8. *v.* 48.

Pſal. 22. *v.* 7.

Jerem. 20. *v.* 7, 8.

1 *John* 3. *v* 15. *Matt.* 5. *v.* 22.

God without a Cauſe. For who can ſay, they perſecuted ſuch Men without a Cauſe, who differ'd from them in all the Particulars of their Lives and Manners, in whom they ſaw nothing of their own Converſation, becauſe the others were wholly devoted to God. And ſuch diverſity of inclinations is the greateſt cauſe of Diſcords; for it very rarely happens, if ever, that any one can fancy that in another which he diſlikes in himſelf. And therefore they did not hate them, as I ſaid, without a Cauſe, in whom they ſaw every thing oppoſite and contrary to themſelves. For they liv'd altogether in Wickedneſs, theſe Men in Innocence; they in Luſt, theſe in Chaſtity; they in the Stewes, theſe in the monaſteries; they almoſt always with the Devil, and theſe continually with Chriſt. It was not then without cauſe that that as unhappy as ungodly people could ſcarce ſee within the Cities of *Africa*, and eſpecially within the Walls of *Carthage*, any one cloathed in a long Robe, of pale complexion, and who having parted with his thick and curled Locks was clipp'd even to the Skin, without taunting and deteſtation. For if at any time any Servant of God, either from the monaſteries of *Ægypt*, or the holy Places of *Jeruſalem*, or from ſome of the Sacred and Venerable privacies of the Deſart, came to that City on the buſineſs of his Sacred Office, as ſoon as ever he appear'd to the People, he receiv'd Reproaches, Slanders, and Abuſes. And not only that, but he was Scourged with the moſt wicked Scoffs of unrighte-

ous

ous Men, and the deriding Hiſſes of the mocking Multitude, as with whips and laſhes. So that if any one, who was a ſtranger to the matter, ſhould have ſeen it, he would not ſo much have thought that any Man was abus'd, and made a laughing Stock of, as that ſome ſtrange and unheard of Monſter were expelled and driven out of the Place.

V. Loe, here is the Faith of the People of *Africa*, but eſpecially of thoſe of *Carthage*. The Apoſtles might formerly with much more Safety enter the *Pagan* Cities, the rude and uncivilis'd Crowds of thoſe ungodly Infidels did much leſs abhor their firſt coming and appearance. The People of *Athens*, altho' extreamly addicted to Superſtitions, heard with Pa-
Acts 17. tience that holy Veſſel of Election, St. *Paul* the Apoſtle, diſcourſing of the Majeſty and Worſhip of one Onely God. The *Lycaonians* alſo admir'd them ſo much, that when they ſaw the Divine Excellencies, that were in the Apoſtles, they took them to be more than Men.
Acts 14. *v.* 11. But in *Carthage*, the Servants of God could ſcarce appear in either Streets or Lanes, without Abuſe and baſe Revilings. This they do not think to be any Perſecution, becauſe they did not ikewiſe Ikill them. High-way Men truly have ſuch a Saying among them, as that they have given ſuch a Man his Life, becauſe they did not take it from him. But in that City this was no Favour of the Inhabitants, but of the Laws. For the Laws of the XII Tables forbid that any man loſe his Life, who is not firſt Sentenced to it. By, which we may perceive

perceive in what Extraordinary Eſteem our Lord's Religion was there, where the Servants of God eſcape, becauſe they are ſecur'd by a *Pagan* Law, from being knock'd on the Head by their Fellow-Chriſtians. And yet we wonder that they now ſuffer under the *Barbarians*, when theſe holy Men ſuffer'd under *Barbarians* in ſuffering under them. *Righteous therefore is the Lord, and juſt are his Judgments.* For as the Scripture ſays, *What they have ſowed, that they reap.* So that the Lord ſeems to have ſpoke of the Wickedneſs of that People in Particular, when he ſays: *Render unto her according to her deeds, as ſhe hath done, do unto her; for ſhe is lifted up againſt the Lord.* We may wonder then, or take it ill, that they now endure ſome Evils: But thoſe they have before done againſt God, are much greater, if according to the difference of the Perſons, it be duly weigh'd, both what they ſuffer, and what they have done.

Pſal. 119. *v.* 137.

Gal. 6. *v.* 7.

Jerem. 50. *v.* 14, 15.

FINIS.

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